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IN THIS ISSUE

THE SHAPE OF THINGS 225

EDITORIALS
- Work or Fight! 228
- "Strictly Confidential" 229
- Politics Won't Wait 229

ARTICLES
- Why Stalin Didn't Come *by Blair Bolles* 231
- Let's Look at Labor VI. World Strategy for Unions *by Adolf Sturmthal* 233
- 75 Years Ago in *The Nation* 235
- Private Hargrove's Army and Mine *by William H. Jordy* 236
- Why Teachers Leave School *by Michael Paca* 237
- In the Wind 239

POLITICAL WAR
- Two Wars or One? *by Frederick Kuh* 240
- Behind the Enemy Line *by Argus* 242

BOOKS AND THE ARTS
- Fascist Network *by Victor Riesel* 243
- Coils of the Past *by William Phillips* 243
- Moscow Diary *by John Scott* 244
- Mobilizing an Empire *by C. Hartley Grattan* 245
- A Priest's View of a Poet *by Babette Deutsch* 247
- In Brief 248
- Drama: Neither Folk Nor Art *by Margaret Marshall* 248
- Music *by B. H. Haggin* 248

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 250

CROSS-WORD PUZZLE *by Jack Barrett* 252

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The Shape of Things

OUR WAR OF NERVES AGAINST FIGHTING France continues unabated as this issue goes to press. With the inevitable gesture of recognition postponed week after week, indications leaked out to the press that when it does come it will be a wretched formula which in the end will do General De Gaulle more harm than good. Surprise is expressed in official quarters that anyone should expect recognition of the Committee of National Liberation to outlast by a minute the arrival of United Nations troops on continental French soil. That would be undemocratic, it is suggested, since the Committee has not received the mandate of the French people. At which point it is pertinent to inquire whether a military dictatorship under General Giraud would come closer to the expressed wishes of French voters—not to mention rule by Amgot in collaboration with Axis-sponsored leftovers from the Vichy regime. Both possibilities have figured in the spate of rumors that stream from Quebec. Some sort of recognition of the Committee by the time this issue reaches our readers is taken for granted. The acid test of our democratic intentions lies in the provision to be made for the Committee's status during the period following invasion and preceding a general election. The agency that governs the country during these politically fluid months will have a powerful voice in determining the fate of France. American permission to Alexander Bogomolov, Russian envoy to the free governments in London, to proceed at last to Algiers is a hopeful sign that we are being forced into a saner position with regard to the Committee. But the fact that this mission of an Allied diplomat was blocked for weeks by American intransigence is one more symptom of the pathological state of our diplomacy.

*

THE REVISED VERSION OF THE TREASURY'S plan for stabilizing world currencies is more satisfactory in many ways than the plan submitted last spring. It is still, however, definitely inferior to Lord Keynes's proposals for achieving the same objective. The new plan provides for more flexibility than the original one, particularly during the first three years of its existence. During this period the exchange rates of the various currencies can be adjusted by a majority vote of the managers

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of the International Stabilization Fund, provided the country whose currency is being adjusted agrees to the change. After the three-year period such a change would require a three-fourths majority. But since the United States has agreed that no one country shall have more than 20 per cent of the total votes, we no longer insist on having a veto power over such decisions. Changes in the gold value of the "unitas," the proposed unit of international currency, still cannot be made, however, without an 85-per-cent vote—which means without American consent. Moreover, the Treasury insists upon its own formula for voting power instead of accepting the more convenient British suggestion that participation be in direct ratio to the volume of a country's international trade. Another weakness of the Treasury's plan is its failure to provide for the active use of the world fund as a means of financing international reconstruction projects in countries devastated by the war. Finally, it continues to dodge the problem of discouraging the pursuit of those economic policies which frequently are the real cause of exchange disequilibrium. The most the managers of the fund will be able to do to a nation which persists in hoarding gold will be to shake a warning finger at it.

*

PRESUMABLY JOHN L. LEWIS REALLY HOPED to lead the United Mine Workers back into the American Federation of Labor and expected to receive a warm welcome; otherwise he would hardly have risked a rebuff. And, undoubtedly, many A. F. of L. chiefs were more than ready to kill the fatted calf for an organization which would contribute $90,000 in affiliation fees to the treasury. Even Daniel J. Tobin, the most influential friend of the New Deal in the Federation, had gone on record as approving readmission of the miners. But Lewis's arrogance defeated his own purpose. He tried to bully the executive council of the A. F. of L., insisting that his union was to be taken in "as is" and not "as was" at the time of its suspension eight years ago. Consequently he ran afoul of one of the most cherished articles in the Federation's constitution, which states: "No charter shall be granted . . . without a positive and clear definition of the jurisdiction claimed by the applicant, and the charter shall not be granted if the jurisdiction claimed is a trespass on the jurisdiction of existing affiliated unions without the written consent of such unions." Lewis, however, was not prepared to restrict his ubiquitous District 50, which he values highly as a means of raiding C. I. O. unions. On the other hand, the A. F. of L. could not afford to accept his proposal that this question be dealt with after the miners were back in the fold. That would have meant setting an awkward precedent in the event of later negotiations with C. I. O. unions. The upshot was an unmistakable rebuke to Lewis in the form of a reference of his application to the annual convention, without recommendation. In some quarters this decision is described as "a New Deal triumph." No doubt the New Dealers are pleased, but we suspect that Lewis has no one to thank but himself.

*

THE WAR DISPUTES ACT, BETTER KNOWN AS the Connally-Smith Act, made provision for the prosecution of strikers and their leaders in the case of work stoppages called contrary to the procedures it laid down. It also gave statutory authority to orders of the War Labor Board, but it left to the executive the methods by which these were to be enforced. Hitherto, the problem of applying sanctions has not often arisen; compliance has been refused in only seven cases out of a thousand. But the exceptions include the notorious recalcitrance of John L. Lewis as well as the less publicized obstinacy of certain corporations. And, so long as it was unable to crack down on Lewis, the WLB was reluctant to recommend government seizure in the case of the corporations. Now the President has issued a directive providing for sanctions against both employers and employees. Non-compliant corporations may have their plants taken over and operated by the government or be denied contracts or priorities for materials and transport. As the act itself prescribes, plants may also be taken over in the event of a strike, but the executive order amplifies this provision by directing that in such circumstances dues may be withheld from the offending union and held in escrow—if a checkoff is in effect. Other contract "benefits, privileges, or rights" may similarly be denied. This order has been criticized by R. J. Thomas of the United Automobile Workers as diminishing the standing of the WLB in the eyes of the workers. The President, however, cannot be blamed for refusing to nullify the act by failing to implement it. Responsibility rests on Congress and there the remedy must be sought.

*

THOUGH CHESTER BOWLES IS PURGING OPA of its professors in accordance with the instructions of Congress and bringing in "practical business men" to take over price control, he himself is showing "professorial" twinges. Faced with a practical job to do, Bowles is beginning to see that there was some sense in the measures which got his predecessors into trouble with Congress and the press. Two off-hand remarks at a press conference last week reveal his difficulties and his state of mind. Bowles said that present restrictions on grading and standardization made it very hard for him to "keep a chocolate bar from becoming half chocolate and half its former size and still sell for the same price." This, from a famous advertising man, must seem almost impious to Congressmen who attacked grade labeling as a first step in the Sovietization of American industry. When a reporter asked Bowles whether he thought OPA

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should control profits, Bowles replied, "Very definitely not. . . . Profit control is up to the Treasury." This was orthodox. But Bowles was honest enough to add that when sellers appeal for a higher maximum price, it is necessary for OPA to take the appellant's profit position into consideration. That's all the professors were trying to do when they were accused of trying to undermine the profit system.

*

THE THIRTY-FIVE-CENT-A-BARREL BOOST IN crude-oil prices, for which Secretary of the Interior Ickes and the oil industry have been campaigning, would cost consumers an extra billion and a quarter dollars a year. The Labor Policy Committee of the Office of Price Administration, made up of Julius G. Luhrsen of the Brotherhoods, Boris Shishkin of the A. F. of L., and J. Raymond Walsh of the C. I. O., is to be commended for its forthright report attacking the increase for the steal that it is. Leon Henderson, as Price Administrator, consistently refused to permit an increase in the price of crude oil "to encourage more production." On oil, as on copper, he believed quite rightly that the sound way to get more production was to pay a premium for new output rather than allow an over-all price increase. The profits of the big oil companies are booming; National City Bank reports that fifteen leading oil companies showed profits, after taxes, 20 per cent above those of last year. Despite the assertion that higher prices are needed to encourage the finding of new fields, the labor committee quotes experts "in Mr. Ickes's own Department of the Interior who have said that 'exploratory work is at an all-time peak.'" If necessary, let's offer government aid for wildcat operations and a premium price for new production. But why fatten the oil trust with additional profits?

*

THE KNIGHTS OF COLUMBUS, THE LEADING Catholic lay organization in the United States, have adopted a resolution urging that nothing be done to offend the religious susceptibilities of the Italians during our temporary administration of their country. "It is essential in the choice of persons to administer such temporary functions," the resolution continues, "that care shall be taken to avoid entrusting those functions to anyone who is professedly or generally known to be opposed to the general views of the Italian people in the matter of religion." If this advice is followed and only approved Catholics permitted to collaborate with Amgot, most of the present leaders of the opposition to Badoglio will be barred. So, indeed, would Garibaldi and Mazzini if they were still alive. It must be remembered that there is a strong secular tradition in Italy carried over from the days when the country was struggling against Austrian and Papal tyranny. For while Italy is a Catholic country, not all Italians are professing Catholics and many professing Catholics are thoroughly anti-clerical. Nor are they likely to forget that the church was willing enough to strike a profitable bargain with Mussolini and that it has done little to curb Fascist abuses these last twenty years. All the same, we do not think the Knights of Columbus have much need to worry so far as our military and civil authorities are concerned. The church has too many good friends in the State Department and other high places, and the Administration has always been keenly alive to the weight of the Catholic vote. In fact, as the one mass pressure group in this country which has a definite foreign policy of its own, the Catholic church exercises an altogether disproportionate influence in our international affairs.

*

THE SLOW WAR OF ATTRITION AGAINST THE Japanese in the South Pacific yielded rather remarkable results this past week. In the occupation of Vella Lavella some thirty-four Japanese planes that sought to prevent the landing were destroyed. A few days later a light American naval force intercepted a Japanese attempt to retake the island, seriously damaging three destroyers and sinking an unspecified number of landing barges loaded with Japanese soldiers. Meanwhile, some 225 Japanese planes were caught on the ground at Wewak, New Guinea. All but ten of these were destroyed in a series of devastating raids which cost the United States only six planes. During the same period American Liberators carried out three record-making 2,500-mile attacks on the great oil port at Balak Papan, Borneo, destroying refineries and ships in the harbor. Progress was also achieved in ground fighting in New Guinea, while in Burma, American and British flyers have defied the monsoon to make several large-scale raids on important enemy installations. Although Japan clearly cannot be destroyed by air power alone, there can be no question that the recent stepping up of United Nations air strength in the Pacific is bearing fruit. The evacuation by the Japanese of their battered forces on Kiska frees the Aleutians of the enemy and strengthens the northern arm of the pincers that are slowly tightening on the "co-prosperity sphere."

*

CAPTAIN EDWARD V. RICKENBACKER, IT IS now revealed in a dispatch to the New York *Times*, "swept over India during May and June like a fresh breeze, bringing a wealth of news and cautious optimism, and leaving with unorthodox views on the China-Burma-India theater of war." Now the "fresh breeze," blowing in from Russia, has swept over New York and deposited some more unorthodox views. Bolshevism, Captain Rickenbacker reports, has been much maligned in this country. Not by the Dies Committee and the

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National Association of Manufacturers, but by the Communists. They have tried to make Americans think of Russia as the fountainhead of radicalism, when in fact the Soviets "have been constantly turning to the right"—so much so that "if they keep going on as they are you'll find Russia coming out of this war the greatest democracy in the world, while if we keep going on the way we are we'll be where they were twenty-five years ago." Rickenbacker doesn't content himself with vague interpretations; he cites facts to illustrate Russia's strides toward democracy. He was particularly impressed, according to one of his interviewers, with "the iron discipline in industrial plants, severe punishments for chronic absenteeism, incentive pay, and compulsory overtime work." Russia puts up with "no labor difficulties." Then, too, "nowhere in the world have I seen so much respect for progressive rank in the army . . . which is in the direction of capitalism and democracy." In his actual observations Rickenbacker sounds almost like a Trotskyist. But then the boundless admiration of the man breaks through; the wistful hope that Washington might model itself on Moscow. He has seen the future, and it works.

Work or Fight!

SO FAR there has been little response to the new order of the War Manpower Commission directing pre-Pearl Harbor fathers to seek jobs in essential industries if they wish further draft deferment. The order is clear and sensible. It extends the list of essential pursuits which offer prospect for deferment, and adds to the previous list of non-deferable occupations. Since the procedure is simple, the United States Employment Service expected to be swamped with applications for war jobs from fathers who wished to remain home with their families as long as possible. It was hoped that there would be sufficient applications to alleviate the critical man-power shortage which has been crippling some of our most essential war industries. For the order was, in a sense, an offer of blanket deferment for fathers—provided they accepted war jobs. Fathers who want deferment can obtain it; those who prefer to enter the services, and there are doubtless many, will be subject to eventual induction.

The failure of any large number of men to respond to the order seriously imperils the entire man-power program. If men cannot be persuaded to fill the gaps in essential industries by this new "work or fight" order, it is obvious that a national service law will have to be enacted. We do not regard the passage of such a law as something to be avoided at all costs. For years we have argued that the same principles of service should apply on the home front as on the fighting front. But as a means of meeting the immediate emergency, the WMC order has many advantages. Requiring no cumbersome new administrative set-up, it should have yielded maximum results in a minimum of time. For however convinced one may be of the justice of national service in theory, it is evident that there is at present no agency capable of putting it into effect quickly and efficiently. The setting up of such an agency would involve a serious loss of time.

Why, in view of its many advantages, has the recent WMC order failed to yield immediate results? There appear to be several reasons. For one thing, many men hesitate to give up good civilian jobs for temporary war jobs. They are apparently relying on the thirty-day period of grace usually granted registrants to change jobs after classification in 1-A. United States Employment Service officials point out, however, that this provision does not apply to men who have not registered with the Employment Service. But the main reason why draft-age fathers are not flocking to the employment offices is to be found in the widespread impression that Congress will put an end to the WMC's program as soon as it reconvenes in September. Responsibility for this impression rests with a handful of opportunistic Congressmen who have rushed into print in recent weeks with angry denunciations of the WMC's plan for "disrupting the American home." It is doubtful whether these Congressmen represent a large section of Congressional opinion, but their statements, and the wide publicity given to them in the newspapers, have served to sabotage efforts to divert draft-age men into essential industries.

Assuming that men like Senator Davis and Representative May, who have been among the leaders of this Congressional opposition, would not deliberately wish to interfere with our war-production program, we can interpret their actions only as an ill-considered bid for the votes of draft-age fathers and their wives. Surely no one would seriously maintain that dependency status or family relationship should take precedence over contribution to the war effort as a basis for draft deferment.

Actually, the Congressmen who are so concerned about protecting fathers from the draft may in the end open the door to measures more disturbing to civilian life. For if the present work-or-fight order fails of its purpose, a national service act is inescapable, and such an act would allow much less freedom of choice than is now available to draft-age fathers. Furthermore, if the present arrangements for permitting fathers who wish to do so to enter military service rather than accept war jobs are superceded, the time will most certainly come when young fathers will be drafted regardless of occupation or choice. It may be that we shall have to have both national labor service and stricter Selective Service regulations before the war is finally won. Meanwhile, it is to the interest of every American to see that the recent WMC order is given a fair trial.

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"Strictly Confidential"

ON JULY 31 a subcommittee dealing with policy for the allocation of American food made a report to the Food Advisory Committee headed by Secretary of Agriculture Wickard. The report was marked "strictly confidential," in the way beloved of officialdom, but fortunately its contents leaked to the press. We would like to see it obtain wide circulation, for it is the best and most constructive criticism of the Administration's food policy from a progressive point of view that we have seen. The authors include some of the best younger officials in the capital. E. W. Gaumnitz, formerly of the Department of Agriculture, is chairman of the subcommittee which prepared the report. Collaborating with him on it were Abe Fortas, Under Secretary of the Interior; Dewey Anderson, of the Lehman relief organization; Bernhard Knollenberg of lend-lease; Brigadier General Carl A. Hardigg of the War Department, and J. M. Cassels, secretary of the War Food Administration. Unfortunately, their recommendations run counter to the tide in Congress and the farm lobby, as well as to the individualistic habits of the American farmer.

Most of the pet ideas of the farm lobby are stepped on in the report. The subcommittee directs its fire particularly at the politically sacrosanct concept of parity. An attempt to restore the relationship which existed between the prices of farm and factory products before the last war is a hindrance rather than a help in obtaining the maximum nutritive production for present war purposes. The price of wheat, under the parity formula, as the subcommittee courageously points out, is much too high, that of milk too low. The lesser shibboleths of current farm-problem discussion are treated with equal temerity. The subcommittee does not find either lack of man-power or lack of machinery a major factor in hampering increased food production. Reports of both have been greatly exaggerated by the farm bloc. And one of the report's principal conclusions collides head on with the dominant attitude in Congress toward agencies which would help the agricultural underdog. "The greatest opportunity for more efficient production in American agriculture," the subcommittee says, as the friends of farm security have been saying, "is the small and medium-sized farm whose resources are partially wasted for lack of credit and good management."

The subcommittee is heading straight for a fight with three of the most powerful agricultural interests in this country—the beet sugar, cotton, and tobacco farmers. It would cut sugar-beet acreage one-fourth in irrigated areas and eliminate sugar beets entirely in non-irrigated. It would reduce the planting of tobacco, a crop which is a heavy consumer of fertilizers that could be used to better advantage elsewhere. It would cut production of short-staple cotton, which we do not need, and provide an increase in the planting of long-staple. In passing, the report sideswipes the cotton-textile industry by suggesting a reduction of 25 to 30 per cent in the civilian use of cotton goods because "cotton-mill capacity cannot meet present military requirements as well as current civilian consumption levels."

The subcommittee not only is for subsidies but would stamp out black markets by having the government control all wholesale buying operations. It believes that because of increased production by smaller farmers and the decline in the number of itinerant truckers, the government must itself "assemble" food in each region. It sees this as one method to prevent a scandalous waste of food in areas where "flash" surpluses develop. Thus the subcommittee points out that in 1942 one-third of the Texas cabbage crop went unharvested, and this year a bumper crop of carrots in California's Imperial Valley was saved only by dehydrating them. The subcommittee suggests special feeding facilities in factories and revision of the rationing system to iron out certain inequalities, and it even jogs the housewife by declaring that "a shocking percentage of the food which comes into the American kitchen is wasted."

It is easy enough to understand why officials were anxious to keep this bold report "strictly confidential." It may yet raise a storm in Congress. But it is a pity that its explanations of fundamental food policies cannot be broadcast to every farmer, housewife, and processor. For if we are to feed ourselves and extend some help to others, we shall all have to change our habits as the war continues and the need for more efficient utilization of farm land, labor, and crops becomes apparent.

Politics Won't Wait

SECRETARY HULL, in recent months, has frequently rebuked any concern with international politics by saying that the only thing that matters is to get on with the war. Consequently, there is something symbolic about his journey to Quebec to consult with the President, Prime Minister Churchill and Mr. Eden, for it is an open acknowledgment of the fact that political decisions are essential to getting on with the war and that military and political strategy are inextricably mixed.

Take the matter of the second front, for instance. On purely military grounds there may be good arguments for waiting until next spring. By then Germany will have been more thoroughly softened and we shall have had time to take full advantage of the victory over the U-boat by concentrating an unbeatable weight of material in Britain. Invasion, under such circumstances, might mean far fewer casualties than an attempt to storm Fortress Europe today. That is an immensely important

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consideration, but we should try to understand why, to the Russians, it does not seem paramount. To them, the most important thing is to finish off the enemy quickly. And now that they have bled the Reichswehr white and started to turn it back, they see the opportunity to secure victory, provided that we bring to bear the full power we have assembled in Britain and the Mediterranean.

We need not fear, perhaps, that if Russia is forced to fight on through the winter without relief it will be defeated. But while we are saving our men's lives, they will be losing theirs—and their losses have already been stupendous. We have to consider also the fact that Russian food supplies are dangerously low and delay will exact the price of many civilian lives. Nor must we forget the growing toll that starvation and disease are taking of the peoples of occupied Europe. We cannot assess the costs of victory only in terms of our own losses.

It is true that Anglo-American operations in Europe, particularly in the air, are doing something to reduce the pressure on Russia—more, perhaps, than Moscow appreciates. But unless we can do something more to force the removal of a significant fraction of the German strength employed in the east, it is to be feared that Russian bitterness will increase and with it a suspicion that the reasons for our delay are political as well as military. We have to remember—for the Russians have not forgotten—that there were powerful forces in America and Britain which sought to bring about a situation in which Germany and Russia would rub each other out, and that even today there are voices which mutter about the necessity of barring Russia from Europe. No doubt, Moscow exaggerates the influence of such voices but they add their quota of poison to an atmosphere already heavy with suspicion and serve to increase the fear that we are planning for a Russia too exhausted to interfere with our peace plans.

Writing in this issue of the *Nation,* Blair Bolles in Washington and Frederick Kuh in London agree that, in the words of the latter: "Around the planetary second front difficulty revolves a chain of satellite troubles." There is no need to enumerate these troubles, which are dealt with fully in the two articles, but they are nearly all matters which could be disposed of, given mutual confidence and goodwill.

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The question of the German Committee in Moscow, which has so agitated the American press, is a case in point. Set up without consultation with the western powers—just as they failed to invite Russia's views on Italy—it has been widely discussed here as a possible move towards a separate German-Russian peace. Goebbels, taking his cue from such fears, has used it as a weapon in his campaign to split the Allies. But as William L. Shirer has pointed out in the New York *Herald Tribune,* his domestic propaganda line indicates his awareness of the true import of the Moscow Committee —a skilful Russian attempt to enlarge the fissures beginning to appear in the Reich. For, so far from telling the German people of hopes for peace with the Soviets, he warns them that Allied unity has been achieved by America and Britain, giving Stalin a free hand to "Bolshevize Europe." He dare not inform them that the precondition for peace proposed by the German committee in Moscow is the liquidation of Hitlerism.

Some American commentators have complained that, whatever the propaganda worth of this committee, the manifesto it has been allowed to publish indicates that Russia is prepared to make a "softer" peace than we are. This criticism would have more force if America and Britain had definite plans for dealing with a defeated Germany. So far their only published program is "unconditional surrender," which leads inevitably to the question: "After unconditional surrender, what?" A political question again, but one which we can neither safely thrust aside until the end of the war nor answer satisfactorily except in agreement with Russia.

We write before the end of the Quebec Conference but, whatever is decided there, the next move seems plain. There must be an invitation to Stalin to join with Roosevelt and Churchill in coordinating immediate strategic plans and laying the foundation of a common peace policy. For the recall of Ambassador Litvinov—a development on which we will comment more extensively next week —suggests that we have reached a political crisis with grave military implications.

Why Stalin Didn't Come

BY BLAIR BOLLES

Washington, August 20

THE Quebec conference is a conference on Russia, even though the Soviets are not represented. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Churchill arranged to meet on the St. Lawrence in order to discuss a military problem the solution of which holds the key to a greater political problem, the future course of relations between the Soviet Union and its two Western allies. The question at Frontenac is simply this: how shall the United States and Great Britain manage their share of the European war from here on?

Shall the war be short and bloody? Or shall it be long and so managed as to save a maximum of Anglo-American lives? The short and bloody war is the war with a western front, opened by attack from English bases against the strong defensive line put up by the Nazis along the coasts of France, Belgium, and the Netherlands. The short and bloody war, in other words, is the war of the "second front," as the Russians define that term. The White House, the State Department here, and the Foreign Office in Whitehall are convinced now that the whole Russian question turns on the opening of a front—call it second, third, or fourth—which will draw half a million Axis troops from the eastern battlefields.

The White House, the State Department, and the Foreign Office are convinced also that the alarms raised during the past few weeks about the state of the Atlantic democracies' relations with the Soviet Union lack validity. Josef Stalin holds aloof from Quebec mainly because there is, in his opinion, no second front; if he maintains his aloofness after a second front becomes a fact, there will be warrant for despair about his disposition to make common political cause with Britain and the United States. For Stalin the second front alone can be proof of the Western allies' good will toward his country; and conversely, a second front would put to the test Russia's good will toward us.

Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union have developed in a disturbing fog of suspicion and fear, which have so beset both countries that one is tempted to dismiss the diplomats and call in the psychiatrists. The Soviets fear that capitalistic nations want nothing more than to assist in Russia's downfall; sections of the American population, on the other hand, see a menace to their way of life in the doctrine of world revolution which they still imagine the Soviets hold in store. Captain Rickenbacker is one of the few old-guard American reactionaries who rightly note Stalin's disinclination toward world revolution.

In view of these suspicions, illuminated occasionally by a flare of criticism on one side or the other, it is remarkable that the two countries have made the diplomatic progress they have since 1941. Slowly the bases of a lasting friendship are being laid.

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American policy toward the Soviets during the past two years has stemmed from the White House. Secretary of State Hull spoke honestly last week when he said he was ignorant of plans made for Russian participation in the Quebec talks because such matters were handled by the President. Mr. Roosevelt monopolizes the Russian question, and Sumner Welles encourages him to believe that Russia can be won over; on this point Judge Hull is a skeptic. The President has worked earnestly to let Russia know that toward the Bolshevik state this capitalistic government has only good will, and Stalin is gradually becoming impressed by this determined effort. It is notable that in the same week which brought the Tass announcement that the Soviets had not been invited to Quebec, the Russians indicated their trust in us by taking Ambassador Standley on a tour of Soviet factories.

The first evidence of this country's favorable disposition toward Russia came on June 2, 1941—three days after the German attack. It is understood here that the Russians suspected that Great Britain might turn on them when the attack came and that the United States might help the British; this was a suspicion born of the orthodox Bolshevik notion that the capitalistic powers must of necessity want the Soviets' destruction. Instead, Sumner Welles on June 25 announced that the neutrality act would not be invoked for the U. S. S. R. The Russians could buy war goods in the United States. We were not going to help destroy the Soviets but were going to do what we could to keep them going.

The second evidence of good will was the extension of lend-lease assistance. These two actions confounded Germany. The Nazis believed with the Russians that the capitalistic powers would welcome a chance to destroy the Soviets, and with this thought in mind they sent Rudolf Hess to Britain as special legate with an invitation to the English to ally themselves with Germany for the Russian kill. The British declined and today Hess languishes in captivity, the British have a twenty-year alliance with Russia, and the Germans are being ground to defeat on the fields of the Ukraine.

Errors have been made in our relations with the Soviets during the past two years. The War Department in the summer of 1941 tended to confirm the Russians in their suspicion of American hopes when one of its spokesmen told newspapermen the Soviet Union could last only two months. Jesse Jones aggravated the situation by withholding the petroleum-refining equipment which had been promised the Russians. But the patience of Roosevelt and Welles obscured those irritants, and the Kremlin, abolishing the Comintern, continued to creep closer to full faith in its Atlantic allies.

Sometimes the President's good will has found rash expression, and the consequences have not been happy. When Foreign Commissar Molotov visited Washington in June, 1942, the White House issued a communiqué which appeared to promise a second front that same year. Actually, it promised only that the United States would do its utmost to make arrangements for a second front. But it was a document of dubious wording, dashed off in a moment of exuberance by the President. The result was that the Russians subsequently charged us with breaking our promise.

For all his good will, President Roosevelt has underestimated the difficulty of the Russian problem. Thinking that it was primarily a matter of supply, he appointed Admiral Standley as ambassador to Moscow; and Standley, a good naval officer and a good distributor of war materials, has been consistently inept in dealing with the major political and psychological phases of Russo-American relations. Then again, Mr. Roosevelt welcomed the appointment of Maxim Litvinov as ambassador to the United States without understanding that Litvinov was far less a power in 1941 than he was in 1933, when Roosevelt and Litvinov exchanged the letters which brought about American recognition of the Soviet Union.

The shortcomings of Standley and Litvinov underscore one of the great obstacles in the way of cementing friendly relations between the two countries, namely, difficulty in communication. Standley has been unable to convey to the Russians any idea of the handicap which our participation in the war against Japan gives us in any effort to help Russia directly by a strategic operation. He has failed to impress the Russians with the problems involved in transportation across the Atlantic, with the result that the Russians last winter complained that they were getting less American war material than they should.

To overcome this difficulty the President sent Joseph Davies and Harry Hopkins on special missions to Moscow. But the normal channels for exchange of views are simply inadequate. Litvinov has been called home, probably to stay, and an obscure chargé now manages Russian diplomacy on Sixteenth Street.

Even more fundamentally, Mr. Roosevelt underestimated the Russian difficulty by his failure to evolve something specific in the way of a post-war foreign policy for the United States. What do we want to do about Germany? We don't know; we have no policy. Russia knows, and not caring to wait for us to act, it encourages a Free Germany Committee. As long as we have no policy for Europe's reconstruction beyond the Atlantic Charter's pious wishes, we can expect the Kremlin or *Pravda* to make known the Soviets' unilateral policies from time to time.

Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. Churchill could put the relations of the Western powers with Russia on a better footing by announcing their faith that the Soviets will not make a separate peace with Germany. Perhaps it is forgotten that Russia's alliance with Britain is attended by a Russian commitment not to make peace alone. Russia in the main has honored its treaties. Perhaps it permitted

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the American recognition agreement to be violated by Comintern agents, and it seemed to repudiate the treaty with Finland which settled the winter war. But aside from these two instances, its diplomatic record is clean. It consistently upheld its commitments in the League of Nations. It abided by its treaty with Turkey. It maintained a strict observance of its 1939 agreement with Germany. And—to our hurt, but to its own honor—it has remained faithful to its neutrality pact with Japan. Britain, therefore, has reason to trust that the Soviets will observe the Anglo-Russian treaty.

Russia sees the world realistically. Above all, it wants security in which to reconstruct a shattered country and proceed with its socialist experiment. That security calls for a quick finish to the war and a peaceful world after it. For the quick finish Russia wants a second front. After the finish we can take up the difficulties of the Baltic States and Poland, the problems of Persia and China, and all the other differences which exist between Moscow and Washington. As long as there is no second front Stalin will continue to hold aloof from Allied conferences.

Let's Look at Labor

VI. WORLD STRATEGY FOR UNIONS

BY ADOLF STURMTHAL

FROM the viewpoint of European labor the question of whether or not it will be possible to establish close collaboration with American workers after the war is a matter of historical significance. Subject to pressures from Washington and London on the one hand and Moscow on the other, European labor will anxiously look to the American working class for assistance both in resisting American conservative influences and in frustrating Communist efforts to dominate post-war developments on the Continent. Without such aid it is possible that Europe will be the victim of a conflict between American-led reactionaries and revolutionary forces under the control of the Soviet Union. Such a development would threaten not only to split the United Nations into hostile camps but also to nip in the bud any democratic and progressive forces that might emerge from the downfall of Hitlerism. Only if American and British labor can at least neutralize reactionary intervention in Europe will the European working-class organizations have the strength to resist the powerful attraction of Moscow and thus obtain that freedom of action which must be their primary peace aim. For American labor, Europe will be either a threat or a guide, according to whether reactionary régimes succeed in imposing sweatshop conditions for the purpose of international competition or whether European reconstruction is firmly used as a great experiment for obtaining full employment and rising living standards.

Persuasive as the case for international cooperation is, neither the history of American-European labor cooperation nor the present situation warrants any great hope that the need for closer understanding will be universally recognized. Indeed, the record of what happened twenty-five years ago is a warning against excessive optimism. The relations between American and European labor organizations in the somewhat similar situation at the end of the last war were such that an able historian of that period, Austin Van der Slice, was led to speak of "the wide rift" between the movements during 1918 and 1919. Samuel Gompers and his followers were full of contempt for their colleagues overseas. In his autobiography, Gompers, describing a conference with French Socialists, recalled that he "listened to their fantastic and irrational proposals as long as I could endure them." As president of the Commission on International Labor Legislation at the Peace Conference, Gompers cooperated with the employers' delegates from the United States in deleting from the British plans for the International Labor Office of the League of Nations a clause which would have given the conventions of the I. L. O. the force of international law. It was only with the greatest effort that an open clash with the European labor delegates could be avoided. The European labor leaders reciprocated in kind. Sidney Webb requested a member of the American Embassy to keep certain American labor delegates out of England and France, because, as he put it, "they had a disturbing influence on labor and Socialist circles in France."

It is, perhaps, encouraging to recall this sad period in the history of international labor, for it tends to show that, after all, some progress has been made. During the last five years the American Federation of Labor has been affiliated with the International Federation of Trade Unions, and although contacts between American and European delegates are far from being frequent, a certain amount of practice in the field of international cooperation has been acquired. Within the framework of the International Labor Office, American labor delegates

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have formed part of the Workers' Group, which is under the general direction of the I. F. T. U., and Robert Watt, the main American delegate, has made many friends among European labor leaders. Some American unions are members of the International Trade Secretariats, which organize the workers of the same trade on an international basis. All in all, these contacts have probably served to eliminate the most glaring misunderstandings on both sides, which made the attempts at cooperation twenty-five years ago so painfully unsuccessful. Both sides know each other at least to the extent that they are aware of the divergencies that exist between them and the difficulties in the way of effective cooperation.

First among these difficulties is the matter of organization. The American labor movement is split into five parts: the A. F. of L., the C. I. O., John L. Lewis's United Mine Workers and their District 50, the Railroad Brotherhoods, and the independent unions. Only the A. F. of L. is affiliated with the I. F. T. U. and thus has direct contact with European centers, such as the British Trades Union Congress. The bulk of American labor does not belong to any international organization and has little understanding of the problems involved. Under John L. Lewis the C. I. O. did less than nothing to establish contacts with European workers, preferring to find in Latin America affiliations that would make up for the increased stature which I. F. T. U. membership has given the A. F. of L. (More recent efforts on the part of the C. I. O. are making up for this neglect of international relations.) Unofficial offers on the part of the I. F. T. U. to mediate between the two American factions were scorned by both. British unions in recent years have felt a need to approach American workers in industries vital to lend-lease and the war effort, but an I. F. T. U. ruling stood between the British unions and those Americans who were members of the C. I. O. For according to well-established tradition only one trade-union center in each country can be affiliated with the I. F. T. U., and the A. F. of L.'s monopoly position prevented the establishment of liaison between the British and the C. I. O.

It might be argued that in the interest of more intimate international cooperation the rules of the I. F. T. U. ought to be modified so as to admit the C. I. O. in addition to the A. F. of L. It is possible that this solution will finally be adopted in some form, but one should not overlook its dangerous implications. For the "one center only" tradition was built up in a period of internecine strife within the trade-union movement in Europe and has been one of the most powerful preventives of internal splits. To abandon this rule might give encouragement to factional strife at a time when the unity of the labor movement may well be the prime condition for its resurrection and survival.

Another difficulty arises from the undeniable fact that not all parts of American labor are committed to a policy of international cooperation. Isolationist views are held by labor groups as well as by others. For the time being, however, it seems probable that at least a majority of organized labor could be won over to anti-isolationism.

The problem of the Russian unions is another disturbing element. I shall point out later how I imagine that this could be settled in a way satisfactory to both the Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee and American labor. Few observers will doubt, however, that, today at least, the Russian question is probably the greatest stumbling-block to closer American-European labor harmony.

Closely connected with this is the fourth great difficulty involved in such collaboration—the divergencies in aims and general outlook between the labor organizations on the two sides of the Atlantic. Most American unions continue to regard only a small range of problems as their real concern, disregarding altogether or relegating to the second rank all wider issues. Their attention is focused upon wages and hours to the almost complete exclusion of the more basic questions of social and political structure. This, as I have shown elsewhere, was also the attitude of European labor, even in its political organizations, during much of the period between World Wars I and II. But it is unlikely that it will be the attitude of European labor leaders at the end of this war. In a much deeper sense than the United States, Europe will face the task of reconstruction. In most countries on the Continent the problem will consist in building a new society out of the chaos left by the collapse of Hitler's overlordship. In England, the basic changes of an economic and social nature that have already occurred or that are inevitable at the end of the war are of such a magnitude that the job will not differ essentially in scope from that faced by the Continent.

The European unions will continue to devote their attention to wages and hours, social insurance, and similar matters. But they will be compelled to see these questions against the background of the needs of a reborn nation, and they will therefore have to understand that wages and hours form part of much wider issues, such as the general institutions, the policies, and the structure of their new society. A few American labor leaders have begun to adopt a similar point of view and to look at labor problems from the broader standpoint of general policies. But the great majority are still alien to such attitudes and remain committed to a narrow interpretation of their members' trade interests. I fear that they will show little understanding of the peculiar needs of their European colleagues and will react with the same impatience Samuel Gompers displayed in 1918. John L. Lewis's reception of the National Resources Planning Board program for a developed system of social security could not fail to remind one of his once close association with the anti-political stand of Sam Gompers. It is the political attitude of European labor and its interest in

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issues which American labor leaders consider outside the legitimate field of action of trade unions which will constitute one of the main divergencies after the war.

In spite of these difficulties, I believe that effective cooperation can be established, provided both sides abandon the illusion that all parts of the international labor movement must be patterned according to the standards of the organization in one particular country. It is impossible to hope for full identity of views between, let us say, Soviet and American labor. But once it is admitted on all sides that the international organization of labor will have the job, not of standardizing the movements in the various parts of the world, but rather of expressing the highest common denominator of their interests and objectives, some measure of cooperation will be possible and will probably not be fruitless. The European organizations must learn to accept American traditions as a fact and pin their hopes on the gradual but unmistakable change in practice which has become patent in the last decade. American labor will have to endeavor to understand the peculiar situation of the European labor organizations and the state of mind of their membership during a period of unprecedented turmoil. American and Soviet labor organizations could coexist only in the framework of such a loose, world-wide federation, which would include labor groups of the most diversified nature. Within such an organization a closer tie could be established among those member groups willing to accept stricter rules.

At least, some of the undeniable differences between American and European labor—and also among the European labor organizations themselves, which are far from being uniform in organization, thought, or action—could be evaded if the program of joint action were to stress concrete objectives rather than general ideologies. It might be possible, I believe, to obtain agreement among the trade unions on both sides of the Atlantic on action in favor of such objectives as these:

1. The establishment of democratic régimes in postwar Europe.
2. An international organization which would guarantee peace by collective action.
3. The establishment of institutions and the adoption of policies tending toward full employment everywhere and the expansion of international trade.
4. The development of the I. L. O. as an instrument to coordinate the international advance toward higher standards of living and high levels of employment.

Closer contact between the leading personnel of American trade unionism and European labor figures now in exile might contribute to prepare both sides for working together in the future. Not only would the American labor leaders discover the types of problem with which their Continental colleagues have to deal and their ways of looking at them, but a basis for mutual action on specific issues might be found. Together these groups could obtain the assistance of the I. L. O. in preparing their plans for the future and thus act as a joint labor group within the framework of the international parliament of labor, which might have an invaluable part in the reconstruction if a unified labor movement existed to take advantage of it. Nothing would better prepare for future cooperation than common action now.

[*This is the sixth article of a series of seven on the problems confronting the American labor movement. The seventh will appear in two weeks.*]

75 Years Ago in "The Nation"

THE CABLE of 1866 breaks down again, but opportunely, so far as public news is concerned, during a general lull in politics, owing to the adjournment or dissolution of the chief legislatures of the world.—*August 6, 1868.*

THE PASSAGE of the Corrupt Practices Bill occurs simultaneously with some promising symptoms that the old mode of soliciting votes for candidates is to pass away together with bribery.—*August 6, 1868.*

NO NEW campaign stories about the candidates worthy of mention have appeared since our last issue. . . . Grant has committed no new crime, but his cotton and other frauds increase in magnitude and variety, and the depravity of his father and brother are gradually being revealed. As described now day by day in the *World*, he is probably the vilest man on earth.—*August 13, 1868.*

THE PUBLIC MIND in England is occupied mainly . . . with the canvass preparatory to the coming election. . . . Lord Bute, a young man at college, has undertaken to decide who shall be returned by the great borough of Cardiff which lies in his estate, and the Duke of Portland has written a most comical letter of admonition to his tenantry, showing an extremely defective education and mental powers of the lowest order. The outcry against hereditary peers, and the talk of life peerages, in the meantime grow stronger, and such incidents as these of course stimulate them.—*August 13, 1868.*

PARIS, JULY 31, 1868.—The wind of opposition seems to be blowing all over France, and it may increase to a hurricane which will sweep away not the Imperial government itself, but its blind supporters. . . . The editorial offices of the Paris and Lyons newspapers resound daily with blows and fights; writers are spit upon, revolvers are drawn, and duels are of daily occurrence.—*August 13, 1868.*

TO ANY PERSON interested in lies and liars the Presidential campaign offers an opportunity for successful investigation that is rarely met with. At no other period do liars show themselves so fearlessly and are the lies to be seen in such abundance and variety. . . . The interest of the occasion to the scientific observer may therefore be imagined.—*August 27, 1868.*

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Private Hargrove's Army and Mine

BY WILLIAM H. JORDY

Camp Grant, Illinois

A RECENT copy of *Publishers' Weekly* in one of the surprisingly good regimental libraries at this army post assures me that Sergeant Marion Hargrove's opus is still dispatched in carload lots to corner drugstores. By now it has become a kind of Bible of Basic Training. That is probably due to the fact that it says what most people want it to say. It tells about the fly-on-the-nose while standing at attention, about the halting manner of inexperienced sentries, about innumerable hard-boiled sergeants, about stupendous quantities of K.P. All these hoary truths and fables concerning the ignorance and irresponsibility of the rookie are of course considerably gilded by the colorful speech which seems to be characteristic not only of Hargrove but of all privates at Fort Bragg.

This elaborate verbosity only emphasizes the fact that the army into which a civilian is drafted today is not quite Hargrove's. It's the difference between beginning and end, between dipping in at the top of the man-power barrel and scraping the bottom, between pre-Pearl Harbor training for "defense" and post-Pearl Harbor training for actual combat areas. It's a subtle difference, but real.

The Manhattan contingent leaving Pennsylvania Station on June 25 for the reception center at Camp Upton, for example, might have sensed this difference as it walked a ragged double file down steps that led to a slat-seated troop train as old as the last war and maybe older. Quietly entering another stairway, almost unnoticed in the clamor of roped-off relatives, a well-disciplined file of boys, bronzed from maneuvers, lugged duffle bags toward some port of embarkation. The difference between the two files was only six months. The new recruit would never debate the problem of whether or not he would again don "civvies" at the end of a year's training, as Hargrove and his buddies had debated. His officers would never preface a gas-mask drill with "If some enemy . . ." but rather with "When you go over. . . ." And when he'd finally been outfitted and classified and shipped out of Upton to a basic-training unit to learn the A B C's of soldiering, he might ask, "What happened to the other boys?" (Meaning of course those who had slept in his tent before he arrived.) Some non-com would answer, "Almost every damn one of 'em went to permanent units, and then overseas."

Few of them stay in training camps a year or more as they used to. Six months—that's the average. This makes for a soberness that suddenly interlards even the noisiest horseplay, affecting all but those few who want action at any cost. The Chicago papers are sold outside the mess hall, the Allied inroad into Italy is carefully noted, and it is commonplace for someone to remark futilely, "Hope they keep right on advancing so we won't have to go." The older training films were obviously made on the fields of North Carolina, or Kentucky, or New Mexico; the latest ones show the real thing. The battalion bulletin board includes, along with notices of USO dances, detailed instructions for "Disposition of the Dog-Tags of Deceased." Just as casually, talk of death creeps into conversation.

"If I die, it's two casualties. My father's got a coronary collusion, and the slightest shock . . . Know what a coronary collusion is? It's a clot in the heart. A blood clot in the heart! Now come on, soldier, dig down into those cookies. Go ahead, help yourself."

The older men are especially apprehensive, and nostalgic too. There are many more of them in the army today than the average citizen thinks. It's a far cry from Hargrovean days, when oldsters of twenty-eight were mustered back into civilian life. Our lieutenant says, "When they ask me, 'Are they drafting fathers?' I tell them to visit my platoon. I'll bet a fourth of the men in it have children." And these are by no means all post-Pearl Harbor births. One draftee, twenty-nine years old, children four and six, complained at Upton: "So I asks my draft board, I asks them, 'Now I thought they wasn't draftin' fathers.' And they were nice, very nice, but they says to me, 'We're sorry, but we have quotas to fill.'" Someone suggested he appeal to the Red Cross. Maybe he did.

However, by far the largest number of fathers only became such some time after December 8, 1941. And, as far as Selective Service is concerned, these fathers are as eligible for the draft as single men, which is in fact the only possible legal solution. But no law can prevent a father of however few months from pulling snapshots from his wallet every chance he gets. No law can keep him from being wistful or make him less fearful of his possible destiny. And no USO mixer can pry him from a nightly letter back home or force him to enlarge his circle of friends beyond certain limits. He tends to find a few cronies, and, except for them, to remain aloof. Usually he is resigned to his fate; sometimes he is unhappy as hell.

Take the six who live in my tent. They're probably a typical lot, and they epitomize what has happened to

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the man-power supply since the lush days when Private Hargrove really was a private. Two are married, and one of these has a baby. One, twenty-seven years old, is unmarried but psychologically "settled." And, since it is a June contingent, three are fresh out of high school. What has happened? The man in the middle army age bracket (roughly twenty to twenty-five)—single, more experienced, surer, more sophisticated than the average high-school graduate—is not here. He has either passed through his basic training or is still in a war plant. And while it may be true that the boy of eighteen makes the best soldier, there can be little doubt that the men of twenty to twenty-five are the leaders in Hargrovean horseplay and army rah-rah. The older men are usually too preoccupied, while the high-school graduate will generally be a better follower than leader for the greater part of his basic training. And the high-school graduates take on more of the apprehensiveness of the older men than you might expect.

Even as he reads of new beachheads, each man realizes that in all probability he will be part of the swelling tide six months from now. If he is ambitious, he realizes that it is becoming increasingly difficult to climb up through the ranks, because of the large number of officers commissioned last year, and because many of those still required are justifiably being selected from men who have distinguished themselves in foreign service. Many of the special training programs have been completely filled. And he realizes that, as he starts his basic training, headquarters companies are already being formed in Washington for new divisions. He realizes that they will be "activated" in ninety days, and maybe activated with him—him and his ninety days' training. Maneuvers. Then overseas.

It's not that he isn't courageous. It's just that—well, his friends "hung around" for a year or a year and a half in training camps. A year is a lot of living. Six months just isn't. He's no coward, and he'll end up a good soldier—he'll *have* to. But beneath the traditional burlesque of rookie training—fly-on-the-nose, sentry jokes, hard-hearted sergeants, K.P.—the swiftness of training, the contraction of opportunities for advancement, the dwindling supply of man-power, the impact of total war, and the inescapable fact that he'll be in it within a few months—these, taken together, make for an underlying tension that Private Hargrove never knew.

Why Teachers Leave School

BY MICHAEL PACA

WORKING as a file clerk for a federal agency here in Washington, and earning a salary of $1,620 a year, is May Dobman. Before this "big money" lured her to the Capital, May was a school teacher in South Dakota, at $900 a year.

Among May's classmates at State Teachers College was Agnes Morse, who gave up teaching for a job in an aircraft factory at $33 a week, twice what she made in the schoolroom.

John Hunter, social-studies instructor, who also doubled in English, was drafted from his teaching job, and at a private's pay of $50 a month, plus bed and board, is financially making out a trifle better than he was.

Add up the May Dobmans, Agnes Morses, and John Hunters in every state, and you have a measure of today's crisis in education—more than 75,000 teachers lost, to industry or the armed forces, during the 1942-43 school year. This is in addition to the normal loss of 58,000 through such causes as marriage, retirement, illness, and death.

"Our teachers are quitting so fast it is difficult to keep a record of their resignations," says an Idaho school superintendent. Resignation rates are at unprecedented peaks in all parts of the country.

The inevitable result is that "Closed" signs are being hung on many a classroom door—20,000 is a conservative estimate of the number that will be shut this coming school year because "teacher is absent." Classes that remain open will have to resort to overcrowding, lowered teaching qualifications, and other doubtful expedients. In Breathitt County, Kentucky, for example, twenty-eight teachers will operate fifty-six schools, spending the first three days of the week at one school, and the last three at another. Other crisis measures include the granting of 37,000 "emergency certificates" to teachers who in many cases have no more than a high-school education.

But even these and similar steps are not sufficient to save some schools. Fall River, Massachusetts, has shut up two primary schools, closed eight rooms in five different school buildings, and discontinued a boys' and a girls' industrial-arts shop. One district in Missouri will not open any of its schools at all this year. In countless places essential services are being eliminated.

Some officials are trying to avert the collapse of their school systems by pressing into service married teachers who have been discharged within the last few years, by calling out of retirement elderly teachers, and by urging college-trained home-makers to teach part time.

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When these barrel-scraping measures are exhausted, however, the schools will hit bottom as far as their supply of teachers is concerned. The problem will be worse next year, because teacher-training institutions which ordinarily supply about 65,000 new teachers each year are today one-third empty. Selective Service has taken more than three-fourths of the men enrolled for training as teachers, and the young women who in peace looked to teaching as their only hope now look elsewhere.

We shall probably feel until 1950 the results of today's falling enrolments in teacher-training institutions. We know for certain that few teachers will be graduated in 1944, 1945, and 1946. Unless many more new students enroll in pedagogy classes next year, we shall have only a handful of newly trained teachers in 1948 and 1949—years which according to present birth-rate indices will see unprecedented numbers of children crowding into the primary schools.

The effect of these conditions upon the lives of the young may not be evident for years, but the price will be high, in delinquency and in incompetence to assume the responsibilities of democracy. Apparently we—or at least those who are supposed to represent us in government—prefer to pay that deferred toll rather than to forestall it by putting out the requisite cash now.

For all diagnoses of the crisis in education boil down to this basic fact: teachers are forsaking their profession because of low salaries. Selective Service is taking a certain proportion of male teachers, to be sure; but the greatest losses are among those who cannot or will not live on a teacher's pittance while prices are rising and more adequate salaries are available in almost every other field.

Living costs have risen 20 per cent since Pearl Harbor, teacher salaries only 8 per cent. Forty teachers in every 100—about 360,000—were paid less than $1,200 last year. Nearly eight in every 100 received less than $600. The low salaries are not confined to any one section of the country, as witness the fact that twenty-six states employ teachers at less than $600 a year.

The problem is nation-wide, and we are making no progress in solving it for the same reason that we made no progress in meeting the problems of unemployment or old-age insecurity until 1933. Up until that year we refused to recognize those issues as of national concern. We left them for the local community to handle. Today, we are leaving it up to 119,000 different school districts to meet their own problems of education. Some of these districts are wealthy and provide excellent school services. The vast majority are totally unable to provide adequate services even during peace; under strain of war, they have collapsed completely.

A national attack on our educational problem is called for, but there is no sign that such an attack is even being seriously considered, so inextricably are the public schools caught in the web of states' rights, local autonomy, local prejudices, and local politics.

The wonder, however, is that an Administration that has fought for recognition of unemployment, old-age insecurity, and other social problems as national issues has "been adamant against federal aid to education." The words in the quotation marks are those of Senator La Follette. They were spoken at the Senate hearings on the "Keep the Schools Open" bill. This bill, which was sponsored by Senator Thomas of Utah, called for $300,000,000 of federal funds to be apportioned among the states to raise substandard teacher salaries and to bolster the poorer states in their efforts to pay the costs of education. Senator La Follette pointed out that federal-aid-to-education bills have been studied and reported out of Congressional committees and calendared for consideration in the Senate since 1934. But they have all died on the calendar because of Administration opposition, always with the promise, as Senator Thomas added, that such a bill would be considered at the "next Congress."

"The question is, when are we going to get to that next Congress?" asked Senator Hill of Alabama.

"*Mañana,*" answered Senator La Follette, throwing up his hands figuratively and literally.

Manaña certainly never dawned on Capitol Hill during the last Congressional session. In fact, education is still reeling from the slaps that Congress gave it. Washington is only now assessing the damage, which includes cutting out OWI's education division; abolishing the educational activities of OCD; refusing to grant funds to the High School Victory Corps, with its physical-fitness activities; and weakening the United States Office of Education by cutting its funds. And, of course, it did not even take up Senator Thomas's federal-aid-to-education bill.

Perhaps this record isn't surprising from a Congress that took a swing at "college professors" in OPA. The surprising aspect of this battle for a minimum of schooling for our people is the gap between word and deed in the record of the Administration.

Thus, President Roosevelt has told teachers that they are "performing a great service to their country," adding that "children must not be allowed to pay the cost of this war in neglect or serious loss of educational opportunity." Paul V. McNutt has said several times that "teaching is war work," and his War Manpower Commission has declared teaching an "essential" activity. The Budget Bureau, however, which is the President's mouthpiece on appropriations, has ruled that federal aid to education involves a "non-essential war-time expenditure of funds," and that enactment of the Thomas bill "would not be in accord with the program of the President."

Dr. Howard Dawson of the National Education Association, which is the chief sponsor of the bill, has said:

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"To speak of expenditures on education as 'non-essential' reflects a callousness toward a public service which is a foundation stone of all we are fighting for."

Other examples of the same "callousness" might be cited. About a year ago the National Education Association asked the United States Employment Service to set up a nation-wide placement service for teachers similar to that provided for farm workers, veterans, and the handicapped. Such a service would at least have utilized the 1,500 USES employment offices for recruiting teachers in those areas where some potential teaching personnel might be found. John Corson, who was the director of the USES at the time, offered "all support" for this plan, but nothing happened, presumably because the USES had to concentrate on recruiting industrial war workers.

With this record of official callousness in mind, the teacher who reads government literature proclaiming "teaching as war work," "the classroom as a citadel," and "education as a weapon," and hears appeals to "serve America nobly by remaining at your post," is likely to respond coldly. Such appeals have been heard in the House and in the Senate and from national officials over the radio, but no reason has yet been offered the teacher why she should remain at a $600 post when she can serve America just as nobly at twice that salary.

Federal aid may not prove the complete answer to education's ills. The issue involved in this battle is more than a matter of $300,000,000 or the question of "federal control of schools," that bugaboo against which the Thomas bill has taken every possible precaution. The issue is whether as a nation we can afford to let our schools remain in the grip of local poverty; whether we can allow them to turn out half-literate, undereducated citizens—unfit to serve their nation at arms. The issue is also whether public schools shall lag behind every other public service; whether school budgets shall be the first to be cut in time of crisis and the last to be restored in time of prosperity. It is also whether teachers shall receive the rewards due a profession or whether they shall waste their teaching skills by taking routine or menial jobs that pay more. The issue, in short, is whether public education has any strength at all—whether its voice can have any meaning in the nation.

These questions may well be answered during the next session of Congress. Organized labor has already informed Congress that it intends to fight for a minimum salary of $1,500 for teachers. Another group, too, is girding its loins. Supported by a war-and-peace fund of $50,000, the National Education Association is at last out to wage systematic, Congressman-by-Congressman battle for the Thomas bill. Some say that the N. E. A. is at last serious on this issue because it needs a victory. Certainly the teachers of the nation, after years of being kicked around, need a victory. There is no reason why the Thomas bill cannot be used to achieve it.

In the Wind

IT WILL BE SIMPLE to overthrow the present American dictatorship when the boys come marching home, says the Laguna Beach, California, *Post:* "If a sufficient number of men in uniform read Pegler regularly it means they will reestablish democracy in America, on their return from the wars, even if they have to kill every political trickster in the country to do it."

A SIGN on a bus in Charleston, South Carolina, bears this message under a large red "V": "Victory demands your cooperation. If the peoples of this country's races do not pull together, Victory is lost. We, therefore, respectfully direct your attention to the laws and customs of the state in regards to segregation. Your cooperation in carrying them out will make the war shorter and Victory sooner. Avoid friction. Be patriotic. White passengers will be seated from front to rear; colored passengers from rear to front."

ROANE WARING, national commander of the American Legion, gave the recent annual convention of Wisconsin Legionnaires a lesson in semantics. Thus: "I am no isolationist. I don't believe in isolationism. Modern science has made this world too small for an isolationist to exist. I am a nationalist. I am not in favor of placing the destiny of this America of ours in the hands of any international organization of any kind under any circumstances."

VANCE MUSE, secretary of the Christian American Association, has notified his lieutenants in the field that the Association plans a drive to outlaw the closed shop in twelve Southern states. Its success in getting the legislatures of Arkansas, Florida, and Texas to pass anti-union legislation leads Muse to believe the drive will succeed in those states. The other nine are not named in his memorandum. The object will be to use the initiative laws to get the voters in each state to pass a Right-to-Work Amendment to the state constitution at the elections in November, 1944. The amendment would become law without legislative ratification.

FESTUNG EUROPA: The Rome radio under Badoglio's dispensation maintains the Fascist tradition of accuracy in its broadcasts. The C. B. S. Shortwave Listening Station picked up this account of the glider crash in St. Louis: "Ten persons, including the mayor of the city, have been killed in St. Louis in a riot between troops and striking stevedores." . . . The Nazi authorities have forbidden the Czech Bible Society to publish or distribute Bibles. . . . A Bratislava newspaper complains that people who never employed Jews before are employing them now. . . . Anton Mussert, the Quisling of Holland, outfitted his personal bodyguard with fine leather coats. The Nazis have taken the coats for themselves.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind —either clippings with source and date or stories that can be clearly authenticated. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

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Two Wars or One?

BY FREDERICK KUH

London, August 19, 1943, by Cable

THIS article is written before the conclusion of the Quebec conference, and before the achievement of that gathering can be estimated. Will it reconcile the immense discrepancy which exists between the clarity of our military purposes and the obscurity of our political objectives?

In 1917, we conducted a lucid political war. We demanded that democracy replace absolutism. Our ideas stirred millions of people within the Central Powers, and it made them waver or turn against their autocracies. When sailors at Kiel mutinied and the Germans shouted for peace, we did not reprimand anyone for speaking discourteously of Wilhelm II, nor did we commend Hindenburg when he advised the Kaiser to abdicate. But today, when Italians, especially in the northern industrial cities, are demanding peace and the popular revolutionary temper is rising against Badoglio's militarist dictatorship, what encouragement do we give them?

We say that our future military operations require an orderly Italy. Any popular uprising in favor of democracy is likely to involve dislocation or upheaval of our well-laid plans. Do we prefer an autocratic Italy, undisturbed by any breeze of progress? And if this is our notion of expediency in Italy, does the same policy hold for smaller Axis countries, for Germany itself, and even for Japan? If this is our political-warfare platform, will it ease the tension between the Western Allies and Russia? It is true, as the weekly *Economist* cunningly points out, that "the practice of dealing with fascist or autocratic governments as an incident in a developing military strategy is not unknown at the Kremlin." But are we making any attempt to render such dickerings either by the Soviet Union or by ourselves unnecessary? Or do we, on the contrary, plan to allow the political war to drift until Europe crumbles, only to find that our ideas then openly collide with Russia's?

The post-war settlement is bound to involve conflicting principles of political philosophy. But to assume that the divergence of our outlook and Russia's is irreconcilable is to embrace absolute defeatism and to admit that the end of the war must bring new and greater conflict. United Nations leaders have repeatedly declared that the differences in our social systems are no barrier to friendship with Russia, and Russia has echoed that statement. But how do relations stand with Russia today?

The Soviet is resuming its agitation for a second front which will divert about a million German troops from Russia. Stalin has publicly recognized the value of British-American air raids on German industries, harbors, and communications. He knows that our invasion in the Mediterranean has prevented Hitler from drawing additional forces from his reserve pool to send to Russia. But he is also aware that during the coming winter the Red Army will again have to cope with the great bulk of the German army (the British say two-thirds; the Russians say four-fifths). The Soviet wish for a more equal American and British share in the war on Germany is, by far, the sorest spot in our relations today. Some British officials consider it shockingly bad form to dwell publicly upon our differences with the Soviet Union. But any doctor will confirm the fact that antiseptic treatment of wounds is essential, if indecorous.

Around the planetary second-front difficulty revolves a chain of satellite troubles. In June the Russians were prepared to grant full recognition to the French Committee of Liberation in Algiers. But the Washington and London governments asked Stalin to wait. Reluctantly he agreed. The Russians believe that one of the main factors in the American fondness for Giraud is his "safe" anti-Soviet bias. Before Giraud left France last November he visited a number of French garrison towns, including Toulouse, where he addressed French troops. He expressed the view that weakening Russia was in the best interest of France.

Early in June Eduard Benes, President of the Czech government in exile, was to leave for Moscow to sign a twelve-year Czechoslovak-Soviet military alliance. There is a difference of opinion as to whether any agreement exists which obliges Britain and Russia to secure one another's consent before concluding a treaty with a third power. In any event, as Benes was preparing to leave, the British government persuaded him to postpone his visit, according to the conservative weekly *Spectator*.

Recently, too, the British and Russians were on the verge of signing an agreement to regulate air travel between the two countries through the Middle East. Divergencies arose. Air traffic between them has now been suspended because the Russians, pending a settlement, refuse to permit entry into the Soviet Union of passenger airplanes from Britain. This is a minor incident which would never have arisen had there not been greater underlying differences.

Relations between Soviet Russia and the exiled Polish government, broken off nearly four months ago, are still ruptured. The United States and Great Britain have been

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trying to patch things up, but the breach remains—just one more rift between Russia and the United Nations, revealing again the larger unsettled problem of all Eastern Europe.

The Allies created AMGOT without consulting the Soviet government, and then Moscow went its own way by establishing the Free Germany Committee. That Committee, although certainly not intended as a government to be imposed upon defeated Germany, is nevertheless the rallying point for opposition in the Reich. The American and British governments showed no marked degree of pleasure when the Russians called this German committee into existence without first informing Washington and London. If the establishment of AMGOT suggests that we want to put an Allied military government in charge of Germany, then the emergence of the Soviet-sponsored German committee seems a Russian answer—an invitation to leftist elements in the Reich to take over the management of their own country in alliance with the Soviet Union. The entire development of relations with Russia—from the major second-front issue to the recall of Maisky from his valuable ambassadorship in London—explains the *Economist's* conclusion that "the outlook is not encouraging."

It is conceivable that we and Russia, while both fighting Germany, are waging two different wars. Are we both engaged in an anti-fascist struggle? Take Spain. Lately, Franco has reinforced the Spanish Blue Division, which is fighting at Germany's side in Russia. Meanwhile we are considering giving tangible support to Franco. He has asked America and Britain for armaments, planes, tanks, and machinery. American Ambassador Hayes presented Franco's request to the State Department sympathetically. When I told one of Spain's most celebrated republican leaders about this, he laughed. "Fine," he said. "That just means that when we inherit those arms from Franco we won't have to pay for them." But if the British and American governments grant Franco's request, their purpose will hardly be to bestow a gift of second-hand weapons on the Spanish revolutionaries.

It may be granted that we might obtain certain advantages from Franco as we did from Darlan, and as we conceivably might by a deal with Badoglio or Schacht. The Iberian Peninsula is Germany's only source of tungsten, the mineral used for hardening steel and producing armaments. We certainly have a stake in persuading Spain to reduce or halt its exports of tungsten to the Reich. Germany also receives sheepskins and goatskins from Spain with which to clothe its troops more warmly during the Russian winter. We should be happy to see Spain offering less warmth to the Reichswehr. Then again there is the Iberian air line between Madrid and Stuttgart, sometimes used for smuggling contraband to Germany and for even more sinister purposes. Until recently, 65 per cent of the shares in this company were in German possession, 35 per cent in Spanish hands. Now Franco has purchased a 51-per-cent control of the air line. He is in a position, if he wishes, to bridle German abuses of that traffic.

Such tactical advantages are doubtless in the minds of those favoring the delivery of Allied arms to Franco. They would admittedly fit in with our economic-warfare tactics. But one must weigh them against the immense political price of supporting Franco. Against whom would the Spanish dictatorship use our arms? Against its German and Italian friends? Or against a revitalized republicanism in Spain? Are we this time to hear of the necessity of supporting the Falangist order against democracy, rechristened "anarchy"?

Our political aims must be as clear as our military targets. We are not sending our men into battle and compelling fascism to abdicate in order to enthrone another brand of absolutism.

LOST OPPORTUNITIES

"We have permitted the Badoglio government to gain time for the Germans in preparing the defense of northern Italy and we are in danger of losing touch with our chances of bringing over to the Allied side those very considerable elements amongst the Italian population whose sympathies, like those of the Sicilians, are anti-German and anti-Fascist. This seems to have occurred very largely because we have concerted with our Allies no such combined strategy of offensive political action as we have done in the field of military strategy. There exists no political agency comparable to the combined chiefs of staff and no comparable understanding with the Russians to that which so clearly exists between our military authorities and the Russian high command. Until we do have a thoroughgoing offensive program in which military and political factors are jointly considered and coordinated, we are constantly open to surprise in the political field. We shall see more lost opportunities in the future, and perhaps of worse effect, for the political problems facing us will tend to grow in importance, just as the political problems of Italy already exceed in importance those of French North Africa."—MAJOR GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT in the New York *Herald Tribune*, August 17, 1943.

Readers of *The Nation* know that we have been saying this week after week. We cite Major Eliot's comment as a military man's testimonial to the interdependence of the political and the military.

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Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

SINCE the end of July the polemics of the German press and radio have shown that the curve of morale, already declining for some time, has taken a sudden sharp drop. Three new notes, never touched before, are now being played with great vigor: (1) exhortations not to lose faith in Hitler; (2) complaints that "demoralization" is not exceptional but universal; (3) outbursts against the heresy that Germany has come to the end of its road and has no strength left.

On July 30 Friedrich Hildebrandt, Gauleiter of Mecklenburg, told a mass meeting:

> There are situations in which even strong characters may be temporarily discouraged. Let us summon courage. This struggle is not being fought for the maintenance of a régime. We acclaimed the Führer when he turned the tide for us in 1933—why should we forget to be faithful now? It is not his fault. The fact that the Führer does not speak now is not a sign of weakness but of strength. . . . There is no way to victory except under Adolf Hitler.

On July 29 the "leader" of the farmers in the province of Carinthia, one Herr Huber, warned: "A party member must now have courage, even in the face of unpopularity."

A Pomeranian newspaper wrote on August 1:

> We should not make the mistake of considering this situation more serious than it really is.

And on August 2:

> Every German who loves his country and is convinced of the Führer's historical mission is now enduring a spiritual inferno. Where is the way out?

A Württemberg paper on July 29:

> Anyone who thinks we no longer hold any trump cards in our hand is quite mistaken.

A Baden paper on the same day:

> Most deplorable are the Don Quixotes who drop their ears like donkeys before a precipice. There is no reason why we should deny that just now a great number of such asses are suddenly appearing around the corner.

The same paper on August 1 protested against the rapidly increasing number of Nazi Party members who either hide their party badges or leave them off altogether:

> Down with all those spiritual swine who are willing to break their oath to the party, and who now, by withdrawing from politics, are trying to prepare an alibi for any eventuality.

The Swiss *Appenzeller Zeitung* on August 3 published Impressions of a Swiss Traveler in Germany. The first "discrepancy between official German reports and the facts," the traveler noted, appeared while he was still on the train. Eastbound trains are "filled beyond capacity. Trains are so crowded that passengers have to get on and off through the windows." The hotels are just as bad. "In Berlin I had to stay with friends because the hotels were booked for weeks ahead. There is no bed linen and one has to sleep on a tablecloth or an uncovered mattress. Hotel sheets and blankets have been requisitioned for the bombed areas."

There has been much talk lately about the fact that privations and even air raids have not aroused hatred of England. A German correspondent of the Stockholm *Aftontidningen,* in a story published August 1, reported that the most astonishing phenomenon in Germany now is "an immense wave of Anglophilia." People speak English with foreigners at every opportunity and discuss England with barely concealed enthusiasm. "Especially on the upper levels of society sentiment is frankly pro-British."

These observations seems to be borne out by a new theme that has appeared in German newspaper articles and radio commentaries: warnings not to expect any help from England in preventing the Bolshevization of Germany. The *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung,* for example, declared on August 1 that England would not play an important part in framing the peace under any circumstances. Roosevelt and Stalin, it said, would brutally trample the little Churchill underfoot. And in any case the Anglo-Saxons "have resigned themselves to the fact that Europe will fall victim to Bolshevism, regardless of whether they or the Bolsheviks predominate in the rest of the world."

"Canceled Victory Monuments." Thus the caption of a photograph published August 6 in the Stockholm *Aftontidningen.* The picture showed a giant pile of granite blocks marked "Property of the General Building Inspector, Berlin." The accompanying story says that 550,000 cubic meters of the most beautiful Swedish granite were ordered by Germany for the construction of so-called "victory temples"—one, for example, at the Nazi Party stadium in Nuremberg and another near the Soldiers' Hall in Berlin. But after 50,000 cubic meters had been taken to Germany a counter-order came from Berlin to discontinue deliveries, and the Nazis tried unsuccessfully to cancel the agreement. Since then stockpiles of granite have risen in various parts of Sweden—canceled victory temples.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

Fascist Network

UNDER COVER: MY FOUR YEARS IN THE NAZI UNDERWORLD OF AMERICA. By John Roy Carlson. E. P. Dutton and Company. $3.50.

CYNICAL Americans who have been the least willing to believe that the domestic fascist movement is more than a crackpot fringe of small-time racketeers should be moved out of their complacency by John Roy Carlson's book, "Under Cover," the most complete and documented exposure of the totalitarian and "nationalist" network I have seen in ten years of reporting the activities of homespun fascists. It is the democratic counterpart of Elizabeth Dilling's spurious "Red Network," and if it were widely enough read it could be the antidote to the campaigning of the McCormick-Patterson newspaper axis for an isolationist America.

Most sinister of Carlson's revelations is the detailed reporting of the intimate relations existing between important Congressmen and the large bloc of fascists operating anti-Semitic and pro-Nazi propaganda mills across the country. Most of this material was gathered by Carlson, when, as George Pagnanelli, he became one of the small band of reporters and investigators who joined the Bund, Ku Klux Klan, Christian Front, and other subversive organizations and conspiracies to obtain first-hand information for future exposés.

He discovered these high-ranking Congressmen working with the "nationalist" network in order to defeat President Roosevelt, or to smash Wendell Willkie's career, because these men are the vivid symbols of international cooperation with Britain and the Soviet Union. Because the subversives' ranks include scores of thousands who hate England and wish to see her destroyed, and because many, many thousands more blindly hate the Russians and would prefer to see them defeated by the Nazis, these Congressmen have found energetic recruits for their "crusade" against all who advocate domestic and international liberalism. Even today some fifteen to twenty Congressmen lend their prestige to the "nationalists." These legislators have not hesitated to travel hundreds of miles to speak at rallies called by men whose anti-Semitism is very thinly veiled and attended by hysterical audiences, principally made up of women, who still boo President Roosevelt and all Jews and are silent when Herr Hitler's name is invoked.

This fascist rank and file is said to number 1,000,000. There is good reason to accept the figure. Carlson became a professional joiner. He watched, up close, the German-American Bund, the Christian Front, the National Workers League, the Mobilizers, Flanders Hall, Joseph McWilliams, and Gerald L. K. Smith in action. All this activity is reported in detail. He was frightened at times, as were newspapermen who sat in, secretly, on rabble-rousing Nazi demonstrations in the hearts of our big cities. But he was more concerned over the gnawing of these totalitarian zealots at our simple freedoms. He became even more frightened when Senator Nye, "nationalist" hero, told him that "a third party is the only solution." And when Senator Wheeler said of the thirty-three fascists recently indicted that "all these men are guilty of is anti-Semitism."

Carlson-Pagnanelli could have written more effectively. His recital of the activities of Americans who unwittingly or for some payment have been dangling on the strings of Axis agents here is too episodic and loses force because Carlson felt he had to eliminate from his book mention of those men and movements that he did not observe at first hand. The result is the almost complete absence of Father Coughlin and his minutely organized following in Brooklyn and Boston. The fascist movement has centered around the radio priest, who is now awaiting the moment for a resurgence from silence. The Royal Oak parish is still Mecca to the entire "nationalist" network, as is evidenced by the excursions there and the celebrations in his name. Carlson also fails to tell the story of the America First Committee. This, too, is unfortunate, because what Coughlin was, spiritually, to the fascist movement, the A. F. C. was politically.

However, Carlson has provided liberals with the first detailed blueprint—with names and addresses—of American fascism. The attacks upon the book and the recent efforts to suppress it and to frighten dealers into removing it from their shelves are sufficient evidence that Carlson has spent his Pagnanelli years well. His series of indictments have hit home.

VICTOR RIESEL

Coils of the Past

AT HEAVEN'S GATE. By Robert Penn Warren. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.50.

WHAT with the clamor these days for a home-grown literature to feed the national ego, I am afraid that Robert Penn Warren's new novel may not get the critical attention it deserves. For like his first novel, "Night Rider," it does not exploit any popular or literary current, nor does it have any of the rhetorical fanfare, any of the shock-effects, that served to arouse interest in many recent pieces of writing. Yet "At Heaven's Gate" achieves a combination of intelligence and narrative pace all too rare in contemporary fiction. For Warren has worked the tragic symbols of the Southern mind into a fast and highly charged story.

In a sense, "At Heaven's Gate" is a regional novel, drawing its material and its pathos from the strains of Southern life. But it should be immediately distinguished from those regional tintypes that make a cult of the hinterland, with the hope of finding some deep human meaning in the simple and the primitive. For the South takes shape in Warren's novel as a kind of national entity, working out its fate on various levels of existence. Like Faulkner and other typical Southern writers, Warren reproduces that characteristic mixture of timeless ennui and compulsive, almost aimless, violence. But in Warren the ennui is a little more con-

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scious and the violence a little less aimless, as he takes the lid off the tense and pent-up life of the South, baring its traumatic memories, its stunted ego, its straining to uncoil its social and cultural past.

The brunt of the meaning, however, I should hasten to add, is borne by the narrative itself; and except for the obvious fatality of the end and the device of a parallel folk tale, which I take to represent the folk-conscience of the South, the values of the novel are yielded by the tensions of the characters. Significantly, the pace-setter of the action is a taut and wilful girl, Sue Murdock—a creature of her passions, which she can neither control nor comprehend, and which in the end necessarily destroy her. Obsessed by a father image, Sue catapults herself into several affairs, going from one masculine extreme to another, in a fevered search for her identity. She leaves home in order to break the hold of her father, Bogan Murdock, a successful, power-driven symbol of authority and calculation. She breaks her engagement to an upright and simple-minded fellow, whom she had seduced and tried to mould to her needs, but who has been sucked into her father's career world. Finally, Sue goes slumming in the bohemian, radical quarters of the town, and becomes the mistress of a kind of provincial Gidean character, a young poet and pugilist, thriving on his sensations and the immorality of his art. When she discovers that he is a homosexual who cannot give her any moorings, she turns to a strong-willed and unimaginative labor organizer and strike leader. But in his routine sense of order and purpose her new lover recalls once more the hated father symbol, thus completing the cycle of Sue's impulses, leaving her utterly selfless and drained of even her instinctive urges. As Murdock's financial empire collapses, and he looks to the heroic martyrdom of the South to nourish his stamina, we are left with the tragic image of an unfulfilled culture, without hope either in tradition or revolt, yet seeking spasmodically some kind of community.

Evidently Warren has turned his back on the agrarian movement among Southern writers, with its pining for the past and its will to recreate the Southern tradition. And to this, it seems to me, one can trace much of the power and some of the weakness of his book. It is apparently the source, for instance, of the novel's clarity of structure and its note of finality. At the same time, "At Heaven's Gate" lacks something of the energy of unfoldment, the moral drive, that usually comes with the involvement of the author in his story. None of the characters is able to carry the accents of the author: certainly not Sue or Murdock, and Slim Sarret, the intellectual dandy, is too immature and pretentious. And while Warren commands a prose of unusual elasticity and modulation, it plays too often on the psychological margins of the story, creating at times a poetic rather than a dramatic intensity. As a result, some of the more crucial moments are muted and almost lost in tonal effects.

But there is no point in harping on these shortcomings in a work that is at once so conscious and so brisk, and that sustains, for the most part, the level of its large human subject. And in the present state of the novel, "At Heaven's Gate" has the special value of demonstrating that unconsciousness is not a prerequisite for the writing of fiction.

WILLIAM PHILLIPS

Moscow Diary

TWELVE MONTHS THAT CHANGED THE WORLD. By Larry Lesueur. Alfred A. Knopf. $3.

LARRY LESUEUR of C. B. S. has added a very interesting diary to the goodly number of correspondents' books about the Soviet Union. Lesueur's title leans on John Reed, the style and concept of the book are reminiscent of Bill Shirer's "Berlin Diary," the ground covered has been trodden into a fine dust by the feet of a score of Anglo-American newsmen, most of them authors of books, yet Lesueur's 345 pages of personal observations are well worth reading, not only for the student of contemporary Russia, but for the average intelligent American interested in going a little deeper into the subject than the daily press takes him.

Like most of his colleagues in Moscow during the last two years, Lesueur spoke little Russian, knew little of the history of the country. If he has studied the complex political theories of Marx and Lenin on which the Soviet system is based, he leaves such material out of his book. He confines himself almost entirely to what he saw and heard, and to how he and other Americans felt about it. His regular contacts with Russians were limited to a dozen secretaries and several girl friends, but in addition he managed to have many interviews with Soviet functionaries.

One of the most interesting of these was an interview with the People's Commissar of Education—scholarly, white-haired Vladimir Potemkin. In his remarks the commissar gave advance notice of one of the most significant developments in the Soviet Union, namely the abandonment of coeducation which was to take place some months later and the official recognition of the necessity of giving girls courses in household economy and the rearing of children while teaching boys the art of war.

In another interview the head of the cinema industry told Lesueur that in 1942 more escapist films would be made in order to help the Russian people relax from their titanic labors. Like Eve Curie, Lesueur interviewed General Andrei Vlasov, later to become Russia's only noteworthy Quisling.

Lesueur's descriptive powers are considerable. He manages to create an excellent picture of the Arctic port of Archangel in a few tightly written pages. Several descriptions of Soviet children stick in the memory: little tow-headed Vassily, who reflected soberly that the like of him are put in the infantry, not in the air force; and, in a newly liberated district, ten-year-old, one-armed Ivan, who had blown up a German munitions dump and had blown his arm off at the same time.

Lesueur arrived in the Soviet Union in October, 1941, from Britain. On his nerve-racking voyage aboard a freighter full of TNT he was worried for fear Russia would collapse before he got there. He and his companions made plans to evacuate via the Trans-Siberian Railway. When he landed in Archangel, his fears were confirmed by the first impact of Russian confusion and primitive backwardness. By the time he reached Kuibyshev via the Urals, however, he had changed his mind, and was confident of Russian victory. He was sure, likewise, that America would need Soviet Russia as a post-war friend.

Like most correspondents' books on war-time Russia, Lesueur's diary does not answer any of the great questions

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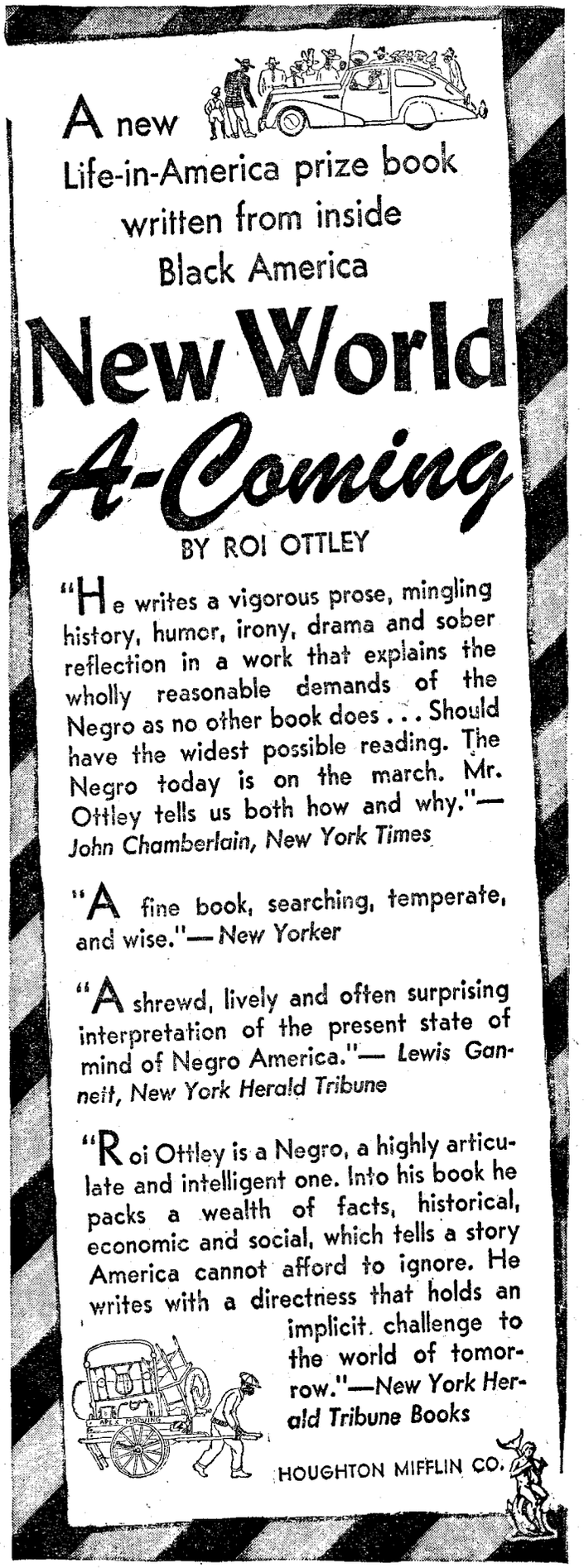
about the Soviet Union: what makes it tick, where it is going, how the people feel and live. I cannot help comparing these contemporary accounts with one written a century ago—"La Russie en 1839," by the Marquis de Coustine, a French monarchist. This traveler managed to find out in a few short months what the Russian people were thinking, what made them the way they were, and in what direction their development was taking them. He managed, moreover, to write all this down clearly and readably, in excellent prose studded with political and philosophical comments, many of which are as true today as when they were written. The work remains one of the best books on Russia. American correspondents tend to be fast, earthy, reasonably honest and accurate, but we somehow have not yet been able to produce a single book about Russia like De Coustine's, though Larry Lesueur's is one of the best attempts. JOHN SCOTT

Mobilizing an Empire

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH AT WAR. Edited by William Yandell Elliott and H. Duncan Hall. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

THE shape of American relations with the British countries in the future is one of the keys to the future of the world. It is not the only key, for Soviet-American and Chinese-American relations will bulk large, not to forget relations with Latin America and with the numerous small nations the world around, whose case is today being overlooked in our obsession with size and the power associated with it. But the mere statement of fact about the British is a long way short of an enunciation of policy. It is over what the policy should be that disputes will come, not over the need for having one. On both sides—British and American—there is altogether too much idle chatter about the need for keeping together and too little concrete discussion of what the two peoples are to keep together *for*. Even Mr. Elliott, an Anglophile of long standing, is not enthusiastic about the pre-war leaders of the United Kingdom: creatures of "a complacent old Empire," "a smug ruling class that nurtured up its own destroyers," and so on. Emanuel Shinwell, from an English point of view, the other day expressed skepticism of satisfactory collaboration with any America other than that of Roosevelt and Wallace (though he did not pause to resolve the ambiguities within that America). In short, there are forces and traditions within both communities which are regarded as inimical to satisfactory collaboration by groups in each. Of course this is because neither is a monolithic community. The antagonism which Mr. Elliott feels for the appeasers of England he also feels for their opposite numbers here at home, and similarly with Mr. Shinwell and his hostility to the economic imperialists he sees lurking behind Roosevelt and Wallace. Both would willingly collaborate to realize what they are *for*, but they both fear collaboration that might advance what they are *against*. They do not stand alone. They merely symbolize the fact that international collaboration is a catch phrase, the content of which is *x* until it is worked out in practice.

Even though Professor Elliott says that his symposium is a "tract for the times" in favor of American-British collabo-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ration, the worth of the volume does not arise from any brilliance of argument to that end. Even his own contribution, a short introduction, is calculated as much to offend skeptics as to convert them, and the more lengthy contributions of the junior editor, H. Duncan Hall, are of even more decisively negative worth to "the cause," with their hypertrophied moralism, fierce invective, and perfervid imperial patriotism. The worth of the volume, by a stroke of irony, is almost exclusively found in the excellent chapters contributed by the numerous collaborators.

These ladies and gentlemen did not feel it necessary to "sell" anything but information. Their essays are uniformly calm, careful descriptive analyses of the several British countries and their war-time problems. In spite of the fact that the articles are now mostly historical, in that events move faster than printers and binders, they are consistently valuable. Unfortunately, no single outline was followed in preparing them and comparisons and contrasts are difficult to make. The best the reader can do, save when he is in a position personally to supplement the text, is to make his comparisons and contrasts with the American scene. On this basis the United States comes off very well indeed.

Generalizations suggest themselves nevertheless. All the British countries were as reluctant to go to war as the United States. We are subject to no reproach on that score. Their pre-war armament programs were, when existent at all, either too limited in extent to matter, as in the United Kingdom and Australia, or not executed to the full extent authorized, as in South Africa. When war came, its prospective magnitude was universally underestimated and the respective contributions of the dominions were therefore misdefined. To a considerable extent this was the fault of the Chamberlain government of the United Kingdom. That government aimed to fight the war "on the cheap" and to base industrial war production on the United Kingdom factories, drawing on the dominions for men, raw materials, and food—that is, a planned reassertion of the pre-First World War pattern. Everything was calculated by Chamberlain to disturb business-as-usual as little as possible—industrial mobilization, labor control, foreign trade, finance. A somewhat similar line was followed in every dominion.

The fall of France transformed the picture. It stepped up every aspect of policy toward the level of total war and it brought the dominions into the picture in a fashion dictated by their true economic character. Their importance as industrialized countries was at last recognized. This was particularly true of Canada and Australia. But the stark and terrible fact was quickly revealed that no British nation, nor all of them in association, could hope to fight anything more than a defensive (perhaps merely delaying) action against the enemy, no matter how ruthlessly resources of men, money, and materials were exploited. Far from being a cheap war it was now shown to be an incredibly expensive one, beyond the resources of the British Empire-Commonwealth to win standing alone. This harsh conclusion underscores the immense significance which now had to be attached to the policy of the United States. From being a matter of guaranteeing a free flow of *purchased* goods and services from the United States—largely a case of operating within the neutrality laws and hoping for sympathetic administration and advantageous changes—it became a matter of gaining direct access to American supplies. The British financial resources in this country were rapidly being exhausted. The lend-lease law of March 11, 1941, nine months after Dunkirk, was the *ad interim* solution of this problem. Pearl Harbor, nine months later still, was the final solution. (I do not mean to imply that lend-lease was a British policy; it was an American policy which met British necessities.)

It was between Dunkirk and lend-lease that the British countries really began mobilizing their resources for war in a serious way and, on the evidence given here, they have intensified the exploitation ever since. Pearl Harbor caused a further and rapid intensification, especially in Australia and New Zealand.

This book is chiefly concerned with the "how" of that mobilization. It is an institutional study in its more rewarding phases. And within its limitations, it is an excellent and important job. The sections on the United Kingdom and Canada are the fullest and best, those on South Africa and India are fair, that on New Zealand good in so far as F. L. W. Wood supplied the text, and Part I of the Australian section, by Fred Alexander, is solid and informative, but Part II by Editor Hall is poor stuff. The tone is strangely at variance with the analytical approach of the other essays, and the handling of controversial matters is marred by moralizing and inept defenses of the United Kingdom which displace candid surveys of what happened. The unnecessary gaps in the information offered I must pass by for lack of space to detail and fill them in. But the worst section, also by Mr. Hall, is Fighting Ulster and Neutral Eire. This was certainly written under what Mr. Elliott calls "the compulsion of war emotions." Here Mr. Hall appears, not as the explicative scholar, but as the compleat scold and propagandist. To balance this curiously inappropriate performance I suggest a reading of the excellent essay on the same subject by Hugh O'Neill Hencken in the *Atlantic Monthly* for June, 1943.

I have reserved to the end a mention of the opening essay, The British Commonwealth of Nations in War and Peace, by Mr. Hall because while I think intra-Commonwealth relations are vitally important to Americans, few can be persuaded to be interested in them. Toward the end of his essay Mr. Hall remarks of the writer on the subject that "private family pattern may play a part in determining just where he fits into the general supernational family pattern—whether he exaggerates or underemphasizes a particular trend such as the independent status of his dominion in relation to the Mother Country," and so on. It is a pity that he did not bring this bit of insight to the level of consciousness before he sat down to his typewriter. He might then have explained the many attitudes toward, and theories about, the Commonwealth, instead of writing a sententious, but brilliant, defense of his own particularistic point of view, which is that of an imperialist with no sympathy for (or understanding of) those who emphasize the "independent status" of the dominions. Mr. Hall gives a distorted explanation of his subject by overemphasizing and arguing fiercely in favor of the forces of unity and identity under United Kingdom leadership and ignoring and even scoffing at the efforts of dominion spokesmen to give reality to the phrase, "equality of status," by achieving a reasonable semblance of "equality of func-

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tion." Mr. Hall, of course, represents one school of thought about Commonwealth affairs—it flourishes most luxuriantly in England—but I do not think it is at all fortunate that a strongly partisan view should find such fulsome expression in a book of this character. It makes the book lopsided. Luckily the writers on the dominions make incidental mention of other points of view which will lead curious readers to go beyond Mr. Hall's essay in their efforts to understand this fascinating and important matter. Americans, after all, must be prepared to evolve correct attitudes and policies toward the dominions severally as well as the British countries collectively. In this task Mr. Hall's essay offers no help whatsoever. C. HARTLEY GRATTAN

A Priest's View of a Poet

GERARD MANLEY HOPKINS, PRIEST AND POET. By John Pick. Oxford University Press. $2.75.

WRITTEN completely from the Catholic point of view, this little book presents, but for the agnostic or merely non-Catholic reader can scarcely illumine, what Hopkins himself might have called the "inscape" of his poetry—its essential distinctive nature, inextricably linked with that of the poet. At the very outset one is confronted with the problem that continues to tease the minds of those who delight in Hopkins's performance and personality but cannot accept his theology: exposed as the young university student was to such diverse influences, and living as he did in a period when religious controversy was exacerbated by the announcement of the Darwinian theory, how was it that so thoughtful a man, a rebel at heart, was converted to Catholicism rather than, let us say, to socialism?

In his discussion of Hopkins's spiritual development Dr. Pick is hampered by the lack of important material. As is well known, Hopkins destroyed his most intimate notebooks and also the poetry written before his entry into the Jesuit order—the latter act, which he apparently committed because he felt his verse to be "non-professional," is itself a commentary on the life-sapping atmosphere in which he labored. But it is less the want of sufficient documentation than it is his unquestioning adherence to the faith that Hopkins professed that prevents this biographer from making explicit to the outside world what the inner springs of the poet's conversion were. One closes the book with a sharper sense than ever of the gulf between the Catholic and the non-Catholic view. If, on the one hand, the non-Catholic finds it difficult to enter into an attitude which assumes that the "test" of literature is whether it is in "harmony [with] the dogmas of the Catholic church," on the other hand the man who finds that test sufficient cannot analyze a literary work in a manner satisfactory to one who rejects those dogmas.

There are, nevertheless, passages that address themselves to those who do not see eye to eye with the author. Dr. Pick has a good deal to say about Hopkins as a Scotist and is able to speak on the subject with authority. His discussion of Hopkins as a mystic is also valuable, and is of especial interest in view of the recent publication of T. S. Eliot's "Quartets," a religious work by a poet who has evidently made a study of St. John of the Cross but who is, more certainly than Hopkins, no mystic. For the sake of these chapters this little book should find its way to the shelves of all those concerned with poetry, though it will undoubtedly please only those whose definition of literature is as strictly limited as the author's. BABETTE DEUTSCH

"GENESIS"

GENESIS is one book which no reader of *The Nation* will want to miss. It is a remarkable long narrative poem with prose interludes — a true "new direction" in American writing. It tells the story of the making of an American (Hershey Green, a young Jewish boy growing up in New York) as it has never been told before, exposing with brilliant insight the manifold forces which condition a modern life. *Genesis* combines the story interest of a good psychological novel with the appeal of finely wrought verse.

The critic R. P. Blackmur has this to say of *Genesis*: "Mr. Schwartz is moving in the direction of Dante's type of sublimation, and upon much the same type of philosophical conviction. The difficulty he has had with his subject matter has been enough to demand of him the maximum poetic response, so that he has made a poetic, a living order. The hope expressed in his preface is here richly and variously gratified: 'There is in this work some truth about all human beings.'" (*Kenyon Review*)

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IN BRIEF

AMERICAN DECADE. Edited by Tom Boggs. The Cummington Press. $3.50.

Decades mean very little in themselves, except as convenient markers or rulers; the decade of the thirties is supposed to be the limit of this anthology edited by Tom Boggs but, as a matter of fact, it spills over at both ends. Which is just as well. There is no particular reason for this anthology, at least none is evident. It does not purport to give a representative selection of work written or published in America during the thirties; it is doubtful that the sixty-eight poems printed would give anyone an adequate idea of the pain and sorrow of that period, or our real accomplishments and progress. Just the same, it is an interesting collection that Mr. Boggs has put together, edited with considerable discretion and taste. He has brushed aside the sterile and obscure and fashionable verse and put his finger on poems which are generally good and sometimes excellent. Some old friends, worth seeing again, are included: Karl Jay Shapiro's acid The Poet, Kenneth Fearing's Beware and Agent No. 174 Resigns, John Wheelwright's A Funeral Pall in Cellophane. Others worth noting are Robert Clairmont's The Wheelgoround and Reuel Denney's A Chiffonier with Glass Flowers. Impressive indeed is Words for Leadville, the longest poem in the volume, by Thomas Hornsby Ferril. The book is, except for one overcrowded page, a model of good printing.

DRAMA

Neither Folk Nor Art

FOLK art, it seems hardly necessary to say at this point, is art that is distilled out of a common and long-drawn-out experience by a process that goes on largely below the surface of consciousness. The process by which it is crystallized into expression—story, music, drama, design—is also long drawn out and not attributable to any single individual.

American Negroes, held in a slavery of two and one-half centuries which imposed both homogeneity and a common experience, constituted the nearest thing to a folk, strictly speaking, that we have ever had in this country. But Negroes can no longer be so classified, and any attempt to perpetuate the classification or to reproduce the forms of expression growing out of their experience as a folk can result only in sentimentality, condescension, and bad art. It is not possible, for instance, for a contemporary composer to write an authentic Negro spiritual, for the simple reason that the conditions which give rise to the true spiritual no longer exist.

It seems unnecessary to say all this. Yet it is clearly not understood by anyone connected with the latest "folk drama" to make its appearance, namely "Run Little Chillun" (Hudson Theater).

I don't know whether Hall Johnson, who wrote the book and lyrics, describes the piece as a folk drama, but everyone else does; and the internal evidence suggests that the author too has very confused ideas of what he is up to. "Run Little Chillun" is, indeed, worth writing about only because it exhibits so well the anomalies that are bound to rise from misconceptions of "the folk" and in particular of Negroes as a folk.

It is possible, of course, and often fruitful, for an artist to use folk materials; but the quality of the result will depend not on the particular materials but on the talent of the artist who employs them. In "The Green Pastures" Marc Connelly created a charming extravaganza based on Marc Connelly's conception of the Negro's idea of Heaven. He may have thought he was writing a folk play, though I doubt it; but his imagination knew better and overrode any such solemn and mistaken intention.

The solemn and mistaken intention is all too apparent in Mr. Johnson's opus; and unfortunately his imagination is neither strong enough nor creative enough to overcome it. The central situation is dramatic and plausible, and has nothing to do with folk. Jim, the son of the pastor of the Hope Baptist Church, has been seduced away from his church-going wife by the attractive and frankly carnal Sulamai. But Mr. Johnson turns this simple human situation into a grim, lumbering struggle for Jim's soul—and the community's soul as well—between the New Day Pilgrims, a nature cult which has set up shop across the river, and the Hope Baptists. There is a pompous note in the program on the "theology of the New Day Pilgrims," and the spectator gets the impression that Mr. Johnson is really going to tell him something about this strange Negro cult. The faithful presentation of the doings of any cult might be both entertaining and interesting. But what suddenly emerges, in the scene which purports to show the Pilgrims in full swing, is a typical Hollywood spectacle with pretentious and costly costumes and the kind of South Sea writhing which is Hollywood's stock prescription for ritual dancing (primitive) whenever the script calls for it.

The second big scene is a revival meeting in the Hope Baptist Church. It is much better, though it also is infected with Hollywood's notion of such scenes and with the more general notion of the Negroes as quaint, "touching," and funny. It does permit the Hall Johnson Choir to sing a few genuine spirituals with happy effect. The congregation also sings some compositions by Mr. Johnson which are, as they must be, rather dull and sentimental imitations of the real, bright thing.

Both Mr. Johnson and the director, Clarence Muse (he is definitely not one of *the* Muses), have labored for some time in the vineyard of Hollywood; and the combination of fake folk and Hollywood make of "Run Little Chillun" a tiresome and often embarrassing hodgepodge in which a promising situation is quite wasted—it is "solved" when the personable Sulamai is removed by lightning induced by the New Day Pilgrims—along with a good deal of talent and a great deal of money.

MARGARET MARSHALL

MUSIC

FOR many years I knew only Ravel's orchestral version of Mussorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition," and took for granted that it must be more effective than the original work for piano—accepting too uncritically the prevailing idea that the orchestra did this sort of thing better than the piano. Then about seven years ago I heard Frank Sheridan play the original, and was amazed to discover that Mussorgsky achieved with the piano everything that Ravel achieved with the orchestra. After that I heard only Brailovsky's ineffective recorded performance; but a couple of weeks ago a friend played the work; and the impact of the experience was even stronger than it had been the first time.

An observation of Tovey on Schubert is relevant here: "Neither Shakespeare nor Schubert will ever be understood by any critic or artist who regards their weaknesses and inequalities as proof that

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they are artists of less than the highest rank. Even if a great artist can be 'written down by himself,' one work of art cannot be written down by another; and even if the artist produces no single work without flaws, yet the highest qualities attained in important parts of a great work are as indestructible by weaknesses elsewhere as if the weaknesses were the accidents of physical ruin." It doesn't matter how many poorer works Mussorgsky wrote; the composer of "Pictures at an Exhibition"—of the musical translations of "Goldenberg and Shmuyle," "Catacombs," "De Mortuis in Lingua Morta"—was a musical artist of the highest rank. That is evident not only in the imaginative impulse and insight, the conception of end and of means for the end, but in the actual execution of the conception: it doesn't matter where and when Mussorgsky was awkward and ineffective; in this work of his maturity—it is dated 1874 and is therefore of the same period as "Boris Godunov"—he writes at every point, in every detail of melody, harmony, figuration, with the unfaltering sureness of a man who is absolute master of his style.

But listening this time with sharpened awareness of Mussorgsky's achievement, I also became aware for the first time of what Ravel had achieved. I had always appreciated the insight and finesse of his orchestral translation of the work; what I realized now was the fact that in every detail it is the exact equivalent in orchestral terms of the piano original. I had thought the use of the saxophone for the melody of "The Old Castle" was the one exceptional instance of a desire to shock; but when the passage was played on the piano, there, to my amazement, was the timbre that called for the saxophone. I have no use for Ravel's qualities as a composer; but I have the deepest admiration and gratitude for the imaginative understanding and sympathy and the artistic rectitude that make his version of "Pictures at an Exhibition" unique among orchestral translations.

With increased appreciation of Mussorgsky's and Ravel's achievements came increased realization of the phonyness of Stokowski's statement accompanying his own orchestral version—his usual statement about merely having fulfilled what was implicit and only partly achieved in the original, which in this case he called a mere sketch for piano, and about having "aimed to preserve and express the Slavic character" that Ravel's "Gallic manner" had destroyed. If there were not the evidence of Stokowski's actual "fulfilment," which slashes out whole sections of the work and destroys the meaning and character of the rest with fussy and lush and lurid orchestral sonorities and effects, and if there were not the additional evidence of all his other performances, then his characterization of Mussorgsky's original work as a mere sketch and his reference to the "Gallic manner" of Ravel's translation would be enough to establish the fact that he is a "musician" without understanding of music—which is why he can make no other use of his gift for manipulating an orchestra than the equivalent of going into a museum and daubing gaudy paint over the Rembrandts, the Corots, the Cézannes. (Somebody once argued that Stokowski could not put any fever or melodrama into Bach or Mussorgsky that Bach or Mussorgsky had not put there first. In other words, since Bach and Mussorgsky had written the notes which Stokowski distorted, they were responsible for the effect which this distortion produced—which was like holding Shakespeare responsible for the effect of an actor's distortion of his lines.)

I should add that it is not only the orchestrators who commit such crimes. My friend played Mussorgsky's work from the edition of the original text published in Soviet Russia; but the clerk in the music-store had first offered him a re-arrangement of the work for piano by Harold Bauer, which, my friend said, defaced it as outrageously as Stokowski's orchestral horror.

Hearing the original piano version of "Pictures," finally, brought home to me more sharply the outstanding crime of this sort—Rimsky-Korsakov's revision of "Boris Godunov." For the assurance and mastery that I heard at every point in "Pictures" were the assurance and mastery with which Mussorgsky wrote at every point in "Boris," with only one difference: they extended to his writing for the piano in "Pictures," but not to his writing for the orchestra in "Boris." Not a note of the melody and harmony in "Boris" should have been changed, therefore; but the miscalculations in orchestration should have been corrected by someone as scrupulous as Ravel. Instead Rimsky-Korsakov changed not only the scoring but the melody, harmony, phraseology, and structure unscrupulously; and even in Soviet Russia, where Mussorgsky's original "Boris" was published and produced some years ago, the orchestration recently has been newly coarsened and vulgarized by Shostakovitch.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

BLAIR BOLLES, who writes a column on diplomacy and international affairs for the Washington *Evening Star*, has recently returned from a tour of England and several neutral countries.

ADOLF STURMTHAL is director of the Institute for Economic Education at Bard College, Columbia University. For many years he was head of the Research and Publications Department of the Socialist International. Columbia University Press recently published his study, "The Tragedy of European Labor, 1918-1939."

WILLIAM H. JORDY, before he entered the army, was a free-lance writer and artist in New York. He has contributed articles to *The Nation* and *Common Sense* and drawings to the *Saturday Review of Literature*.

MICHAEL PACA has contributed to the *Woman, Parents' Magazine*, and other publications.

FREDERICK KUH has been a reporter for the Chicago *Herald* and *Evening Post*, and has covered London, Berlin, Moscow, Central Europe, and Manchuria for the London *Herald* and the United Press. He is now London correspondent of *PM* and the Chicago *Sun*.

VICTOR RIESEL is labor editor of the New York *Post*.

WILLIAM PHILLIPS is one of the editors of the *Partisan Review*.

JOHN SCOTT, former Moscow correspondent of the London *News Chronicle*, worked as a welder in Magnitogorsk for several years. He is the author of "Behind the Urals: An American Worker in Russia's City of Steel," and "Duel for Europe: Stalin Versus Hitler."

C. HARTLEY GRATTAN is an American of Canadian descent. He has visited all the British dominions except Eire, and has written extensively concerning them. He is the author of "Introducing Australia."

BABETTE DEUTSCH is a well-known poet, critic, and translator. Her books include "One Part Love," "This Modern Poetry," and "Walt Whitman."

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Letters to the Editors

An Offer to Readers

Dear Sirs: The Breakdown of Internationalism by Irving Babbitt was published in two successive issues of *The Nation* in June, 1915. It occurred to me to reprint the essay in pamphlet form because of its timeliness, in spite of the fact that it was written twenty-eight years ago, and to make it available to all who are interested in the subject. And who is not?

If any of your readers, individually or in groups, care to know what the author of "Democracy and Leadership" thought about international affairs or foreign relations, I shall be glad to give them copies of the pamphlet for the asking. DORA D. BABBITT

Francestown, N. H., August 5

News for the Services

Dear Sirs: For some time I have been disturbed by the fact that so many service men must form their opinion as to what is going on at home in a virtual vacuum of information or in an atmosphere of misinformation and half-truths gained from brief news broadcasts and mimeographed news sheets. The navy has recently taken some steps to meet the need for news of current affairs. These steps will do more good than harm, I think, but they need to be supplemented.

The editors of the *Leatherneck,* the magazine for and about the marines published in Washington, D. C., has announced that each of its subscribers will in the future receive a copy of the "pony" edition of *Time.* Query: who is absorbing the cost of these issues—the subscriber, *Time,* or taxpayers through use of public funds? I have also been notified recently that from now on my squadron will receive *gratis* 156 copies of *Newsweek.* We and other navy units are already receiving a few copies of the "pony" edition of *Time* free. Are public funds used for these periodicals or are the publishers being big-hearted?

I grant that these two magazines probably have wider appeal than any other two that could be selected. But if public funds are being used to provide them, or if scarce cargo space is used to transport them, then steps should be taken to see either that the news is fully and accurately reported in these publications or that publications such as yours, which carry the news that other publications suppress, are given distribution on equal terms. I like to read *Time, Life,* and *Newsweek,* but it seems to me that there is often a slanting of their news under the guise of a spurious objectivity. The ambitions of Henry Luce, the resentments of Raymond Moley, the underlying attitudes of Ralph Robey are such as to render the setup described very disquieting, to me at least.

There has already been some beefing about the broadcasting of the President's speeches to the armed forces. How about handing over a virtual monopoly to Henry Luce and Raymond Moley as far as the services are concerned? I write you all this in order that you may try to find out just what is up, if you are so inclined. I don't mean to imply that there is bad faith on the part of the navy officials responsible for this situation. They doubtless have acted on the basis of surveys which show that these magazines are the favorite news magazines of the men in the services.

FIRST LIEUTENANT, USMCR

Somewhere in the U. S. A., August 8

[We are reliably informed that both *Time* and *Newsweek* furnish their "pony" editions to the government at "cost price," so to that extent it is the taxpayers who pay the piper while Messrs. Luce and Moley call the tunes. —EDITORS THE NATION.]

What Are We Fighting For?

Dear Sirs: Many times I have been stirred to wrath by the fascist-reactionary groups in this country, but never before to the point where I have actually written a "letter-to-the-editor." However, this time I feel that mine is not a lone voice, for what I have to say is echoed by many service men. There must be thousands who feel the same way as I, for I am average-ordinary.

While in school I took an active part in the peace movements (1935-37), not because it was the thing to do but from a deep-rooted antipathy for war and a cynical attitude toward the last war and all the mess afterward.

With the rise of fascism I, along with others from both sides of the tracks, took a determined stand against fascism and flirted with communism. I say flirted, for we were never wholehearted in our support and in reality were only a socialist group that believed in the objectives of the New Deal. However, in our school we were considered analogous to the wildest bomb-throwing radicals.

For a long time I have found the viewpoint of *The Nation* and the *New Republic* to be very satisfactory—and still do.

However, this is the point. What are we fighting for? For the Washington Gestapo? For the treatment given General de Gaulle? For the race riots in Detroit and Texas? For the privilege of buying *The Nation* from the newsstands when one can get it (for I have been told it is not wise to have it come through the regular army mail channels)?

Everywhere I see the rising tide of reaction—ten potential Dieses for every *Nation* reader. I find (while on leave) that many Americans of French descent in New Orleans are in open sympathy with Vichy.

Sometimes I wonder just what in the hell I am fighting for, and at times I feel sick at heart.

Perhaps you can answer me—and others—in *The Nation.*

SERGEANT

Somewhere in the U. S. A., August 1

Poor Teachers: Poor Teaching

Dear Sirs: The letter from Ellsworth Barnard in the issue of July 3 is penetrating and provocative. He is correct in saying that poor teaching is primarily due to poor teachers, but he does not carry his analysis far enough to explain the unusually poor teaching which is all too common in the social studies. It is true, as Professor Barnard points out, that the less capable students turn to teaching as a career. Now my contribution is to point out that the least capable of this less capable group teach history and the other social studies. What can be done about it?

In the first place, the salaries of all teachers must be increased, a step which would almost automatically raise the level of competence within the whole profession. Second, teachers of all sub-

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jects, and especially those in the social studies, must be admitted to community citizenship; they must be socially and economically enfranchised. Third, protect the social studies by barring from the class rooms those who have had no training therein. The football coach, the bandmaster, and the home-economics teachers are not really prepared to teach American history. To allow them to do so is a mockery and a futility. The person who shies away from French, physics, and algebra will brazenly assume the responsibility of trying to teach civics and history. Certification laws in nearly every state need to be changed in order to prevent this desecration.

In educational matters Professor Barnard seems to be quite ungrounded. He refers to "education" courses as being the cause of poor teaching. Such courses require only one-seventh of the time of a four-year program, and education professors do not teach the "subjects" to prospective teachers; that is done by the professors in subject matter. For years I have been hunting for that man who believes "that education is primarily a matter of method." Professor Barnard surely knocked this straw creation flat, and with a mighty wallop. He refers to the terminology in education as "unintelligible jargon." When I stood on the street corner and heard two Greeks talking, I felt like saying, "What dumb jargon! I don't understand it." I did not yield to the impulse; Professor Barnard did.

EDGAR B. WESLEY,
Director, Committee on American History in the Schools and Colleges
Minneapolis, Minn., July 7

For a Free World

Dear Sirs: "After this war, we'll have to fight Red Russia for the domination of Europe-America. After that, we'll have to fight Yellow Asia for the domination of the world." Such ominous predictions make table talk all over the country. Already we see emerging the frightful features of future wars.

Today this country—and the world—are torn between two factions. On one side, neo-isolationism, determined to emasculate every proposal for an effective and enduring peace; arrayed against it, and challenging it, the belief that effective democratic world organization can prevent future wars and give peace and justice to all nations and races. International anarchy versus international order—which shall prevail?

One thing is certain: mere wishing for the right cannot make it prevail. Another thing is certain: sporadic individual action is equally futile. As individuals we are like leaves in a hurricane.

Only organized mass action can enable us to prevail—organized action on a mass basis, on a nation-wide scale, under coordinated leadership. Only by such concerted action can we hope to exert pressure on obstructionists in Congress; uphold the hands of President Roosevelt, Henry Wallace, and the liberals in the State Department; and defeat neo-isolationism.

The American Free World Association requests you to enlist in such an organized, nation-wide campaign for world order and world peace. We are projecting local branches in every community in the country, mass letter-writing campaigns to key neo-isolationists in Congress, pressure campaigns against them in their own Congressional districts, and educational campaigns in every community.

The scales are so delicately balanced that your individual effort may help to decide the future. And your failure to act—now—tips the scales against us.

JACOB E. HELLER, Treasurer,
American Free World Association
New York City, August 1

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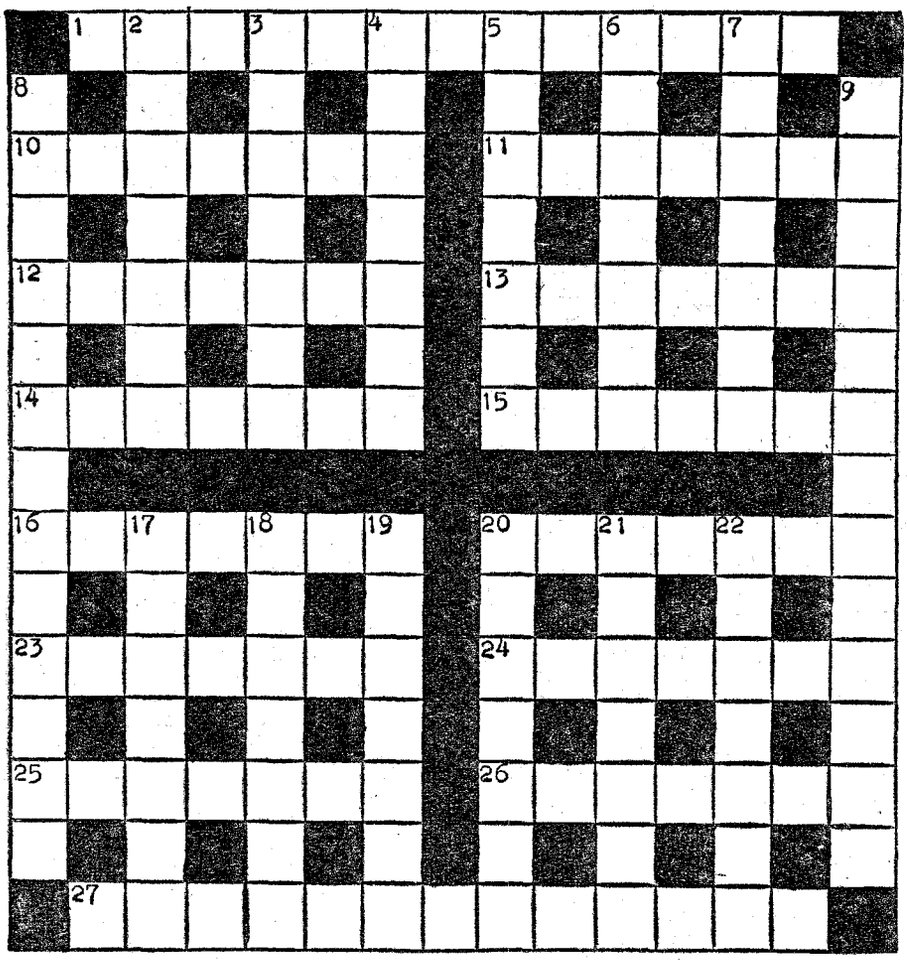
Cross-Word Puzzle No. 27

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 They would be too busy for words who educate thus (three words, 4, 4 and 5)
10 Many people find such spectacles attractive
11 Reconnaissance planes often overlook this
12 A tonic for the neurasthenic
13 The beast in search of prey has swallowed a bird
14 Disease
15 A doubting Thomas
16 An epicure with gout in the extremities
20 "Oh what a -------- web we weave, When first we practice to deceive!" (Scott)
23 Not necessarily a very attractive view, particularly if you don't see the sense of it
24 Highwayman?
25 Products of the soil, perhaps
26 Pare toe might be an apt anagram
27 Where 25 are cultivated (three words, 2, 1 and 10)

DOWN

2 Claims to be virtuous, but is just the opposite
3 Once governed Egypt
4 Epithet for most birds
5 It might be arranged to co-opt you and me
6 Gland secretion
7 A curtain raiser
8 Two sorts of bars might be concerned in these (two words, 8 and 5)
9 Novel, and sounds almost entirely like Mr. Roosevelt
17 A royal supporter
18 The skipper does not address the crew from this platform
19 Scene of an Allied victory last May
20 A trap, possibly, that seems to do the opposite of entrap
21 Dined in an eyrie! Most adroit!
22 Nothing puts an end to this complaint

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 26

ACROSS:—1 DIEHARD; 5 BRITAIN; 9 MACADAM; 10 LYING-IN; 11 UNTIL; 12 LOOPHOLES; 14 USED; 15 SATANIC; 18 QUA; 20 ASH; 21 UMBRAGE; 23 PAGE; 26 EXTENUATE; 28 TERRA; 29 MOONING; 30 AMENDED; 31 BAR-BELL; 32 DESIRED.

DOWN:—1 DIM-OUT; 2 EXCITE; 3 ANDALUSIA; 4 DIMPLED; 5 BILLOWS; 6 IRISH; 7 ANGELINA; 8 NONESUCH; 13 RUM; 16 TIGHTNESS; 17 ISM; 18 QUEEN MAB; 19 ABATTOIR; 22 EVANGEL; 23 PIEBALD; 24 TRADER; 25 SANDED; 27 NAIVE.

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